The Sayings of Jesus

Author of
THE LIFE OF PAUL
THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

BT 306 R6

THE SAYINGS OF JESUS

THEIR BACKGROUND AND INTERPRETATION

BY

Benjamin Willard Robinson, Ph.D.

PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION
IN THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY



New York and London

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS

MCMXXX

THE SAYINGS OF JESUS

COPYRIGHT, 1930, BY HARPER & BROTHERS

PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

First Edition

F-E

In translating the sayings of Jesus, the author has not hesitated to make use of previous translations. Edgar J. Goodspeed's "New Testament" is especially recommended. Some quotations from Jewish sources are allowed to retain, more or less, their archaic flavor. At times, even the use of "Thou" and "Thee" is retained. This is done for the purpose of bringing out by contrast the informality and personal directness of Jesus' words.

To those who have preceded in the historical study of Jesus of Nazareth this volume owes much. "Others have labored and ye are entered into their labors." To his colleague Professor Wilhelm Pauck for help in reading the proofs the author feels a special sense of obligation. To every comrade who has had a hand in preparing the manuscript or in setting the type or in finishing the book hearty thanks are here expressed.

BENJAMIN W. ROBINSON.

Chicago Theological Seminary, May 1, 1930.

R.W. Frank 8-56

CONTENTS

HAP.	P	AGE
I.	Uprising of the Jews	I
	From Alexander to the Uprising of Mattathias (336-167	
	B.C.)	
	Alexander the Great—From Alexander to Mattathias—The	
	Uprising of Mattathias	
	Judas Maccabæus (166–160 B.C.)	
	First Victories—Purification of the Temple—Death of An-	
	tiochus—Accession of Demetrius	
II.	GROWTH OF THE JEWISH STATE	2.1
	Jonathan (160–143 B.C.)	
	Jonathan Is Successful-Jonathan Made High Priest-	
	Jonathan and Demetrius II—Jonathan and Irypho—	
	Jonathan Captured	
	Simon (143-135 B.C.) Establishes Peace—Treaty with Rome—Battle with the	
	Syrians at Modin—Death of Simon	
III.	RISE OF THE PHARISEES	34
	John Hyrcanus (135–105 B.C.)	
	Aristobulus I (105–104 B.C.)	
	Alexander Jannæus (104–78 B.C.) Alexandra (78–69 B.C.)	
	Aristobulus II (69–63 B.C.)	
	The Capture of Jerusalem (63 B.C.)	
	Roman Rule (63-40 B.C.)	
TT7	PALESTINE UNDER THE ROMANS	48
IV.	Herod the Great (40–4 B.C.)	7-
	A King in Search of a Kingdom—The Period of Conflict—	
	The Period of Building—The Period of Domestic Troubles	
	Palestine in the Time of Jesus (4 B.C44 A.D.)	
	Archelaus (4 B.C6 A.D.) Judea—Herod Antipas (4 B.C	
	30 A.D.) Galilee and Perea—Philip (4 B.C34 A.D.)	
	Trachonitis—Herod Agrippa I (37-44 A.D.)	
	The End of the Jewish State (44-70 A.D.)	
	Increasing Discontent under the Roman Governors—The	
	Last Governors of Judea—The Jewish Uprising—Destruc- tion of Jerusalem	
	vii	
	VII	

T/ D 37	PAGE
V. Religious Nationalism Legalism	76
The Messianic Hope Hope of Better Days—The Resurrection—The Messianic Age—The Life after Death Religious Nationalism	
VI. EXTERNAL FORM OF THE TEACHING IN THE GOSPELS	91
Nature of the Parable Purpose of the Parable—Allegorizing the Parable—Interpretation of a Parable—Reasons against Considering Parables as Allegory Jesus' Ideas Concerning Nature and History The Physical World—The Nature of Man—Supernatural Beings—Jesus' Ideas about Hades—Old Testament History and Authorship—Apocalyptic Ideas of the Coming of the Kingdom	
VII. THE EARLY YEARS OF JESUS' LIFE	106
Jesus' Home Jesus' Visit to the Temple The Baptism The Temptations	
VIII. THE SAYINGS OF JESUS	120
From an Early Source ("G") Another Early Source ("Pm") Another Early Source ("Pl") Doubly-attested Sayings The Best-attested Saying	
IX. THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF JESUS	147
The Sayings of Jesus—Earliest Sources The Nature of Jesus' Religion Self-denial Fear and Trust Resisting Evil Marriage and Divorce Personal Character	
X. THE PRAYER LIFE OF JESUS	172
Prayer in a World of Science Jesus' Personal Prayers Jesus' Teaching Regarding Prayer The Lord's Prayer	
XI. THE SON OF MAN The Son of Man	187

~	-	N	277	77	T	m	-
				14.		2	
	.,	LN	-	100	1.7		

		JA
снар.		PAGE
	The "Christ" or "Anointed"	
	The Son of God	
XII.	THE KINGDOM OF GOD	199
	Old Testament and Jewish Use of the Term "Kingdom" Jesus' Use of the Term "Kingdom"	
	The Blessings of the Kingdom	
	Conditions of Entering the Kingdom	
XIII.	THE KINGDOM AS A NEW SOCIAL ORDER	212
	The Kingdom Both Present and Future	
	The Kingdom as a Great Hope The Kingdom as a Brotherhood	
	Modern Ideas of the Kingdom	
XIV.	THE INNER DYNAMIC OF JESUS' RELIGION	223
	His Genius in Selecting the Best	
	The Dynamic Quality Which He Imparted The Old Testament Morality	
	Jesus' Standard of Righteousness	
	Modern Adaptations of Jesus' Spirit	
	Relation of Negative to Positive Religion The Dynamic Quality Inherent in All Parts of Jesus'	
	Religion	
XV.	THE FORCEFUL QUALITY OF HIS EXPRESSIONS	243
	The Wide Range of Jesus' Illustrations	
	The Radical Quality	
	Exclusion of Non-contributing Details Deferred Applications	
	Effective Reversal of Previous Figurative Usage	
	Jesus' Use of Antitheses	
	Changing a Negative to a Positive Combination	
	Naturalness	
	Inwardness	
	Conclusion	263
	Reference Library	264
	Index of Scripture References	267
	INDEX OF SUBJECTS	273

Chapter I

UPRISING OF THE JEWS

From Alexander to the Uprising of Mattathias (336-167 B.C.)

Alexander the Great.—The expeditions of Alexander the Great made possible the world culture in which the Christian gospel later found such ready acceptance. Had it not been for the unifying influence of his conquests, it would have been impossible for any religion to have spread with the rapidity that characterized the missionary success of Christianity in the first century. He was the first to accomplish the amalgamation of Greeks and Orientals. Cyrus the younger had attempted this in his campaign against his older brother Artaxerxes. The march of the ten thousand will always be a classic. But it remained for Alexander to so penetrate the east that Greek civilization became an integral part of the life of the orient. Thus the later advance of the Christian religion into western lands was made possible and natural.

Alexander the Great was born in 356 B.C., in the period when Greek culture was at its height. He was the pupil of Aristotle, and no doubt was influenced much by that great philosopher. After the assassination of Philip in 336, Alexander succeeded him as monarch and proceeded to make his position secure at home. Then, gathering an army of thirty or forty thousand men, he commenced the march eastward which his youthful mind had long been planning. In 334 B.C., at the battle of Granicus in Asia he routed the Persian forces and took the city of Sardis, along with other strongholds. Continuing eastward, he arrived in 333 at Issus near Antioch of Syria. There

Darius had gathered his forces for a determined stand. When Alexander delayed his attack Darius endeavored to make a détour through the hills and attack him from the rear. This gave Alexander his opportunity. Darius was caught in the defiles and his forces routed. Alexander then devoted seven months to reducing the city of Tyre. Another two months he encamped in front of Gaza. The winter of 332-331 he spent in Egypt. In 331 he set out for Persia. On the 20th of September, in 331, he crossed the Tigris. The eclipse of the moon which occurred at the crossing of the Tigris fixes the year and day. His further expeditions into Parthia, Bactria, and northern India do not concern our present study. In 323, in Babylon, while preparing for further expeditions, he contracted a fever, which proved fatal. When he was at the point of death, he requested his faithful army to pass through his bedroom one by one and bid him a last farewell.

It is interesting to note how Alexander's line of march parallels the line of march which early Christianity took in its advance. Alexander marched from Macedonia over into Asia, through Mysia and, crossing the mountains, fought his decisive battle near Antioch. He then spent some time at Tyre and Gaza, and paid his respects to the temple at Jerusalem. Christianity reversed the march, advancing from Jerusalem to Gaza, to Tyre, then down the coast. Its first great rallying-point was Antioch. It moved from Antioch northward and eastward, crossing the mountains in Asia and finally entering Macedonia. Alexander had made of one language all the nations of the eastern Mediterranean. Christianity used that one language in making itself intelligible to those same nations.

From Alexander to Mattathias.—The empire which Alexander the Great had founded was divided up among the Diadochi, the "Successors." In the apportionment, Cœle-Syria, including Palestine, fell to Laomedon, and Egypt to Ptolemy Lagus. This division was of great importance to Palestine during the following centuries. If Egypt and Syria had been placed under one ruler instead of two, the subsequent history of Pales-

tine would have been very different. The wars between Syria and Egypt made Palestine again and again a bloody battle ground.

Ptolemy Lagus was not satisfied with his share of Alexander's domain. He marched upon Jerusalem under pretense of wishing to worship in the Temple. Having entered the city on a Sabbath, he overwhelmed it with his troops and forced the Jews into subjection to Egypt. Laomedon was unable to recover his stolen property. Judea remained subject to Egypt, with only brief interruptions, to the year 198. Lagus was not a bad sovereign for the Jews. He demanded an annual tribute of twenty talents of silver, but this was the extent of their subjection.

During these hundred years and more, the Jews enjoyed a large measure of peace and prosperity. The high priest was held responsible by the Egyptian king for the payment of the annual tribute. He was supported by the military power of Egypt. The high priest thus became political head of the city-state, and the government may be fairly called a theocracy. The "Gerousia," or Senate, of Jerusalem assisted in the management of affairs. This senate had probably developed out of the assembly of the heads of families of the time of Nehemiah.

The effect of the close relationship with Egypt was marked. Large numbers of Jews settled in Alexandria. Jewish scholars were naturally attracted there. The largest library in the world gathered about its treasures many of the scholars of the day. Freedom of thought was encouraged. Judaism and Hellenism shook hands with each other. The Old Testament was carefully translated into Greek, the language which Alexander had brought. This means of communication between Jewish thought and Hellenistic philosophy made possible the later propaganda of the Jewish Dispersion. Judaism was making itself at home in the world, as Christianity did later. Hellenism would have overwhelmed and submerged Judaism had not the inherent power and force of the Jewish faith asserted itself, both at home in Judea and abroad in Egypt and elsewhere. As Schürer sug-

gestively states, Judaism is the only instance of an Oriental religion surviving the flood of Hellenistic thought and civilization (Schürer I-i-199).

In 198 B.C., Antiochus the Great, King of Syria, finally wrested Palestine from Egypt. Never again were the Jews under Egyptian rule. The decisive battle was fought at Panias.

Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, proceeded to destroy Judaism in order to make Palestine thoroughly Syrian. Antiochus Epiphanes was not primarily a bloodthirsty tyrant. In the subsequent history, the persecution was a matter of principle, rather than of personal animosity. He felt that the peace and prosperity of his domain lay in its thorough Hellenization. The few Jews who favored Hellenism naturally stood by him, and he just as naturally attached himself to them. It is almost a certainty that Hellenism would have ultimately supplanted Judaism had Antiochus not been too impatient and hasty.

The high priest in Jerusalem in 175 was Onias III. Jason, the brother of Onias, was jealous of him and aspired to his office. By promises and presents to Epiphanes he succeeded in gaining for himself the high-priesthood in 174 B.C. (II Macc. 4: 19–24). Jason was strongly Hellenistic in his sympathies, making many enemies among the Jews, not only by his part in the slaying of Onias III near the sanctuary of Daphne, but also by actual use of the temple moneys for secular purposes. In 171 B.C. he was expelled from his office by Menelaus, who had offered still larger bribes to the Syrian king and had thus gained the appointment as high priest (II Macc. 4: 26, 27).

The high-priesthood was becoming a mere plaything over which opposing claimants were quarreling. Jason, in 170 B.C., again seized the office and drove out his rival. This was done without the consent of Epiphanes. He then used this event as an excuse for interfering in Jerusalem. So the high-priesthood fell on evil days. Graft and bloodshed were the means of securing the office. But this abuse of the high-priesthood, hate-



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF PALESTINE MIDWAY BETWEEN ANTIOCH AND EGYPT. NOTE ALSO PHILIPPI OF MACEDONIA SO NAMED BY PHILIP, FATHER OF ALEXANDER

ful as it was to the Jews, was almost forgotten in the more fearful calamities which Epiphanes now brought upon Judaism.

On his return from Egypt in 170 B.C., he had the excuse for doing what had long been a secret desire and greed in his soul. He had heard of the wealth of the temple and had coveted it. It was more than a "goodly Babylonish garment" and more than a "wedge of gold" (Josh. 7: 21). Under pretext of restoring the rightful high-priest, he sided with Menelaus and ordered a massacre of the people. He took possession of the temple, and, in real or pretended anger, ransacked the sanctuary of its possessions (II Macc. 5: 11 f.; I Macc. 1: 20-24). He "did his pleasure" and "returned to his own land" (Dan. 11: 28) with the altar of incense, the seven-branched candlestick, and the table of the shewbread.

But the end was not yet. In 168 B.C. the next and last expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes into Egypt ended still more disastrously for the Jews. In Egypt the interference of the Romans unexpectedly thwarted Antiochus. Popilius, the Roman general, ordered him to abandon Egypt for all time. When he demurred and asked time for deliberation, the general drew a circle around him in the sand and uttered the famous words, "Deliberate here!" Upon his return northward, Antiochus spent his wrath upon Jerusalem. He dared to "profane the sanctuary" and to "take away the continual burnt offering" and to set up an "abomination" that should completely annihilate and "make desolate" the Jewish religion (Dan. 11: 31). Massacres ensued and great numbers of women and children were sold into slavery.

Antiochus angrily determined to exterminate Judaism and to make Jerusalem a beautiful city of Greek art, Greek worship, and Greek culture. Everywhere in Palestine he charged Syrian officers to continue a search for copies of the Mosaic law. If they discovered any father who had circumcised his boy, they were to execute the father. In December, 168 B.C., a sacrifice to the Olympic Zeus finally desecrated the great altar at Jerusalem, and the Jews were compelled to march in Bacchic pro-

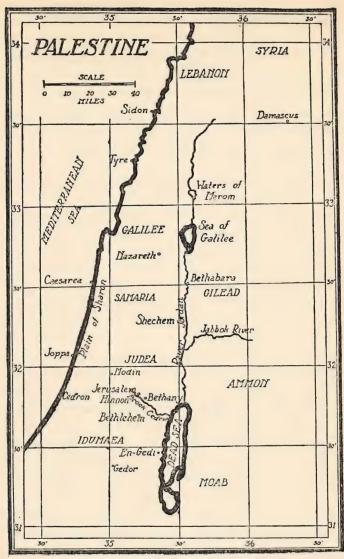
cessions wearing ivy wreaths. The Hellenization of Palestine seemed an accomplished fact.

The Uprising of Mattathias.—In the little town of Modin, located on the sloping hills near Lydda, the smoldering fire of Jewish protest broke out. The first Book of Maccabees reflects the intensity of the feeling which had been pent up so long. No band of colonists rebelling against a British oppressor ever fought a more desperate battle; no Lexington or Bunker Hill witnessed a higher patriotism than that of Mattathias and his sons.

The officers of the Syrian king had come to Modin to carry out the king's orders.

"And the king's officers, who were enforcing the apostasy, came into the city of Modin to sacrifice. And many of Israel came to them, and Mattathias and his sons were gathered there. And the king's officers said to Mattathias, 'You are a ruler and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren; now therefore come first and obey the commandment of the king, as all the nations have done, and the men of Judah, and those who remain in Jerusalem: and you and your house shall be among the number of the king's friends, and you and your sons will be honoured with silver and gold and many gifts.' And Mattathias answered in a loud voice, 'Though all the nations that are in the house of the king's dominion listen to him, to fall away each one from the worship of his fathers, and have made choice to follow his commandments, yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk by the covenant of our fathers. Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances'" (I Macc. 2: 15-21).

The refusal of Mattathias to offer sacrifice on the Syrian altar gave the opportunity to another Jew to win by his treason the favor of the Syrian king. This unknown Jew "came in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar." When Mattathias saw him "his zeal was kindled" and he ran and slew him; "and the king's officer, who was compelling them to sacrifice, he killed at the same time, and pulled down the altar" (I Macc. 2: 25). Then



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF MODIN, THE SCENE OF THE UPRISING OF THE JEWS UNDER MATTATHIAS

Mattathias cried out in the city, "Whoever is zealous for the law, and keeps the covenant, let him come forth after me" (I Macc. 2: 27). And he and his sons fled into the mountains.

"Many that sought after justice and judgment went down into the wilderness to dwell there" (I Macc. 2: 29). The forces of the Syrian king pursued them and battled against them on the Sabbath. The religious nature of the revolt is nowhere more clearly shown than here, for many of the Jews refused to fight on the Sabbath and were mercilessly hewn down to the number of a thousand souls. Mattathias called a council of war in which the patriots decided to fight to defend themselves if necessary, even on the Sabbath. Then Mattathias and his followers went up and down the land, destroying the Syrian altars and driving out the officers who represented the Syrian persecution.

But the rough life of the mountains was too great a change for Mattathias. He died in the year 166 B.C. when the uprising was scarcely a year old. His parting exhortation to his sons was that Judas be their captain in battle, and the older Simon be their counselor and advisor. "And his sons buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin" (I Macc. 2: 70).

The success of the uprising of Mattathias was due largely to the intensity of its religious motives. The first Book of Maccabees clearly reveals its religious character. In the struggle which followed the death of Mattathias, his desperate followers fought for something more than liberty and more than life. Whenever the struggle lost its religious character, it lost its appeal to the truest Jews and consequently failed.

While they were fighting for religious convictions and religious liberty, they were blessed with remarkable triumphs. As soon as the movement took a political turn, it began to lose its glory. These two facts were perhaps in the mind of Jesus and the disciples in the early days of Christianity. Jesus said, "Fear not those who are able to destroy the body only." He told his disciples to have absolute confidence in their Heavenly Father as long as they were engaged in His work, spreading

His truth. Jesus had absolute faith in the success of the campaign for the spiritual Kingdom. On the other hand, he said, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." The early Christians paid their taxes. It was their policy to submit to the temporal powers. It may be that the Maccabean and later struggles helped to educate the Jews in the appreciation of this twofold truth that success attends the struggle for high spiritual life, but that they should not aspire to earthly and political independence and glory for their own sake.

The thoroughly religious beginning of this nationalistic movement may be clearly recognized. Its adherents were children of God like those among whom Christianity made its first start. The longing after God, the intense desire for spiritual freedom, the craving that the merciless plundering of a foreign despot might give way to the care of some human or divine Shepherd or Father, are all here. The people whom Judas fed and clothed were the kind of people whom Jesus fed and to whom John the Baptist said, "If you have two coats and your brother has none, give him one of yours" (Lk. 3: 11). This brief review of the Maccabean struggle affords an insight into the hearts of these people to whom Jesus came and to whom he gave the revelation of God's providential care.

Judas Maccabæus (166–160 B.C.)

First Victories.—After the death of Mattathias, Judas began to strike here and there with rapidity and power. "He was like a lion in his deeds" (I Macc. 3: 4). It was because of these blows that he was named Maccabæus, the "Hammerer."

"And he went about among the cities of Judah, and destroyed the ungodly out of the land, and turned away wrath from Israel: and he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he gathered together such as were ready to perish" (I Macc. 3: 8-9).

Judas' first expedition was against the Samaritan governor. "Apollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host

from Samaria, to fight against Israel. And Judas perceived it, and he went forth to meet him, and smote him, and slew him: and many fell wounded to death, and the rest fled. And they took their spoils, and Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and therewith he fought all his days" (I Macc. 3: 10–12).

He next advanced against the Syrian forces under Seron (166 B.C.). Seron came with his mighty army to Bethhoron and Judas went forth to meet him with a small company. Judas exhorted his men to fight valiantly, leading them suddenly upon the Syrian forces. Seron's army was put to flight and driven in disorder down into the plain. About eight hundred Syrians were killed.

Antiochus was greatly disturbed over the news of this defeat. Realizing, however, that the depleted condition of his treasury rendered him helpless, he decided that before extinguishing this little flame in Judea he would go into Persia "and gather much money." He left Lysias in command of the affairs of his kingdom.

"And Lysias chose Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's friends; and with them he sent forty thousand footmen and seven thousand horse, to go into the land of Judah, and to destroy it, according to the word of the king. And they removed with all their host, and came and pitched near Emmaus in the plain country" (I Macc. 4: 38–40).

Although Judas was awed by the size of the Syrian host, he organized his men and immediately marched toward Emmaus. The strategy of Gorgias, the Syrian general, was outdone by the quickness and cleverness of Judas. Gorgias took five thousand footmen and one thousand horsemen and in the night made a sudden march against the band of Judas.

"And Judas heard thereof, and removed, he and the valiant men, that he might smite the king's host which was at Emmaus, while as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp. And Gorgias came into the camp of Judas by night, and found no man" (I Macc. 3: 3-5).

Meanwhile Judas and his band had arrived at the camp of the Syrians "and they that were with Judas sounded their trumpets, and joined battle, and the Gentiles were discomfited, and fled into the plain. But all the hindmost fell by the sword: and they pursued them unto Gazara, and unto the plains of Idumea and Azotus and Jamnia, and there fell of them about three thousand men. And Judas and his hosts returned from pursuing after them, and he said unto the people, Be not greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us; and Gorgias and his host are nigh unto us in the mountain. But stand ye now against our enemies, and fight against them."

The Syrians with Gorgias, disappointed in not finding Judas, turned back to see their camp in flames and "they fled all of them into the land of the Philistines." Judas and his band returned home and sang a song of thanksgiving and gave praise unto heaven. Israel had a great deliverance that day.

After this defeat of the Syrian generals at Emmaus, Lysias determined to take personal charge of the campaign against Judas. "And in the next year he gathered together threescore thousand horse, that he might subdue them. And they came into Idumea, and encamped at Beth-Zur; and Judas met them with ten thousand men" (I Maccabees 4: 28–29). "And they joined battle; and there fell of the army of Lysias about five thousand men" (I Macc. 4: 34). This victory at Beth-Zur in 165 B.C. marked a high point in the career of Judas.

Purification of the Temple.—Judas was now able to do that for which all his conflicts had been waged. He went up to Jerusalem, to restore the religion of Israel. "And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts" (I Macc. 4: 38). "And he chose blameless priests, such as had pleasure in the law: and they cleansed the holy place, and bare out the stones of defilement into an unclean place" (I Macc. 4: 42-43). "And they pulled down the altar . . . and they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar" (I Macc. 4: 47). "And they made the holy vessels new, and they brought the

candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings and of incense, and the table, into the temple. And they burned incense upon the altar, and they lighted the lamps that were upon the candlestick, and they gave light in the temple. And they set loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they made" (I Macc. 4: 49-51).

This rededication of the temple took place, according to the Book of Maccabees, just three years after the Syrians had desecrated the altar, on the same day of the month Chislev (December) 165 B.C. "They kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed a sacrifice of deliverance and praise" (I Macc. 4: 56).

This is the historical origin of the feast of Dedication which was celebrated every year by the Jews, down to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. "And Judas and his brethren and the whole congregation ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their seasons from year to year by the space of eight days" (I Macc. 4: 59). They then fortified Jerusalem with high walls and strong towers. They further fortified the city of Beth-Zur where Judas had won his victory; for they saw that the next campaign against them would be from that direction.

Before the Syrians came again, Judas had time to subdue the neighboring tribes who were always ready to take the part of Syria against him. "And Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumea at Akrabattine, because they besieged Israel: and he smote them with a great slaughter, and brought down their pride, and took their spoils" (I Macc. 5: 3). He not only subdued the Idumeans, but he crossed the Jordan and fought with the children of Ammon.

"And he passed over to the children of Ammon, and found a mighty band, and much people, with Timotheus for their leader. And he fought many battles with them, and they were discomfited before his face; and he smote them, and got possession of Jazer, and the villages thereof, and returned again into Judea" (I Macc. 5: 6-7-8).

Meanwhile the Jews who were in Galilee and Gilead were being hard pressed by the people among whom they lived. The Jews of Gilead were compelled to take refuge in a stronghold called Dathema. They sent letters to Judas asking his aid. "While the letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent" (I Macc. 5: 14). With this twofold cry for assistance, Judas divided his forces. "And Judas said unto Simon his brother, Choose your men, and go and deliver your brethren that are in Galilee, and I and Jonathan my brother will go into the land of Gilead" (I Macc. 5: 17). "And unto Simon were divided three thousand men to go into Galilee, but unto Judas eight thousand men to go into the land of Gilead" (I Macc. 5: 20).

Simon was successful in Galilee and brought the Jews with their families and possessions into Judea. Judas had a much longer campaign in the country beyond Jordan, but his sudden, quick movements paralyzed the inhabitants of the desert. He went three days' journey into the wilderness and then by a sudden turn surprised the city of Bosor and captured it. Removing abruptly by night, he came to the stronghold of Dathema, where the Jews had taken refuge. When Judas arrived, the fortress was being stormed by the hostile army of Timotheus. "And Judas saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven" (I Macc. 5: 31).

"And the army of Timotheus perceived that it was Maccabæus, and they fled from before him: and he smote them with a great slaughter, and there fell of them on that day about eight thousand men" (I Macc. 5: 34). After taking several other strongholds, he met a determined opposition at Raphon, but again the Gentiles "were discomfited before his face, and cast away their arms and fled" (I Macc. 5: 43).

"And Judas gathered together all Israel, them that were in the land of Gilead, from the least unto the greatest, and their wives, and their children, and their stuff, an exceeding great army, that they might come into the land of Judah" (I Macc. 5:45). On the return journey to Judea, Judas was forced to fight once more. The city of Ephron would not allow him to pass. "And the men of the host encamped, and fought against the city all day and all that night, and the city was delivered into his hands" (I Macc. 5: 50).

"And Judas gathered together those that lagged behind, and encouraged the people all the way through, until he came to the land of Judah. And they went up to Mount Sion with gladness and joy and offered whole burnt offerings, because not so much as one of them was slain until they returned in peace" (I Macc. 5: 53-54).

It is of interest to note the ardor with which other Jewish leaders tried to imitate these exploits of the Maccabees. Joseph and Azarias determined to strike a blow at the Syrian hosts. Instead of defending Judea as they had been commanded, they marched against Jamnia in the plain. "And Gorgias and his men came out of the city to meet them in battle. And Joseph and Azarias were put to flight, and were pursued unto the borders of Judea; and there fell on that day of the people of Israel about two thousand men" (I Macc. 5: 59–60).

After his return from Gilead Judas led another expedition into the south and subdued the "children of Esau." He took Hebron and the villages and strongholds in that vicinity. Then he marched into the land of the Philistines and pulled down their altars and took spoil of their cities.

The Death of Antiochus.—Antiochus Epiphanes died unexpectedly in 164 B.C. while he was still campaigning for riches and plunder in Persia. In the book of Maccabees is the striking statement that he died of a broken heart and bad conscience because of the manner in which he had treated the holy city, Jerusalem. "But now I remember the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and that I took all the vessels of silver and gold that were therein, and sent forth to destroy the inhabitants of Judah without a cause. I perceive that on this account these evils are come upon me, and behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land" (I Macc. 6: 13–14).

At his death he appointed Philip to be the guardian of his son Antiochus V. The rivalry which immediately ensued between Lysias and Philip produced the background for the next expedition of Lysias against Judas.

Judas now laid siege to the citadel of Jerusalem, which was still held by a Syrian garrison. Lysias, when he heard of the attack, gathered his hosts. The numbers given in I Maccabees are probably exaggerated, though reflecting truly the emotions of Judas and his small band in the face of superior numbers. "And the number of his forces was a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and two and thirty elephants trained for war (I Macc. 6: 30). The Syrians made a détour as before and came toward Jerusalem from the south. The battle took place at Bethzacharias, which is between Ierusalem and Beth-Zur. Eleazar, the brother of Judas, was slain in the battle, and the forces of Judas were compelled to retire into Jerusalem. With the Syrian garrison inside and the Syrian army outside, there was little hope for Judas to hold any strategic position any length of time. But at this crisis the rivalry existing between Philip and Lysias saved the day for Judas. Iudas was able to make a treaty with Lysias in which religious liberty was conceded to the Jews. After demolishing the walls of Jerusalem, an act contrary to his promise, Lysias hastened to Antioch to take possession of the Syrian throne and to expel Philip, who had already occupied that city.

The position of Judas was now in some ways unfortunate. The revolt had aimed only at religious liberty. Now that this had been formally conceded by Lysias, the revolt lost its purpose and its glory. It was dangerous to lay down arms, yet there was nothing to be attained by further use of them. The driving spirit of the uprising rapidly lost its pristine power.

Accession of Demetrius I.—After Lysias had expelled Philip from Antioch he found a still more powerful opponent in Demetrius, a rightful heir to the Syrian throne (I Macc. 7: 1). Demetrius received the support of the army, easily overcame Lysias and then put him to death.

Demetrius now found an ally against the Jews. Alcimus, a Jew of the priestly line, requested Demetrius to make him high priest. Demetrius appointed "that ungodly Alcimus" (I Macc. 7:9), and sent his general, Bacchides, to aid his appointee in completely subduing the Jews. Because Alcimus was of the priestly line the more pious Jews were persuaded to put faith in him. "And Bacchides spoke with them words of peace, and swore to them, saying, we will seek the hurt neither of you nor your friends. And they gave him credence; and he laid hands on threescore men of them, and slew them in one day" (I Macc. 7: 15–16). The terror of Alcimus and Bacchides fell upon all the people.

As soon as Bacchides departed, the Jews again rallied to Judas. Alcimus grew afraid and reported the situation to the king. Demetrius sent his general, Nicanor, to cope with Judas. "And Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great host; and he sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully with words of peace, saying, Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may see your faces in peace" (I Macc. 7: 27–28). He would have treacherously seized Judas, whom he rightly perceived to be the real power in Judea, but Judas was too clever. Nicanor was forced to meet him in open battle. "And he went out to meet Judas in battle beside Capharsalama; and there fell of Nicanor's side about five hundred men" (I Macc. 7: 31–32).

Nicanor marched on into Jerusalem. Reinforcements arrived which he went to meet at Bethhoron. "And Judas encamped in Adasa with three thousand men." "And on the thirteenth day of the month Adar the armies joined battle; and Nicanor's army was discomfited, and he himself was the first to fall in the battle. Now when his army saw that Nicanor was fallen, they cast away their arms, and fled. And they pursued after them a day's journey from Adasa until you come to Gazara, and they sounded an alarm after them with solemn trumpets. And they came forth out of all the villages of Judea round about, and they all fell by the sword, and there was not one of

them left. And they took the spoils and the booty, and they smote off Nicanor's head and his right hand, which he stretched out so haughtily, and brought them to Jerusalem. And the people was exceeding glad, and they kept that day as a day of great gladness. And they ordained to keep this day year by year, to wit, the thirteenth day of Adar. And the land of Judah had rest a little while" (I Macc. 7: 40, 43–50).

In the interval of peace which followed this great victory (161 B.C.) Judas chose ambassadors and sent them to Rome to make a treaty. The Romans were only too willing to make such a treaty and sent back to Jerusalem a document insuring mutual protection which exactly suited the Jews. The only drawback to the beautiful arrangement lay in the fact that Rome did not exert herself in behalf of the Jews until she saw a good chance to crush Syrian power in the East, and supplant it by her own sway. But the covenant sounded well. "Good success be to the Romans and to the nation of the Jews, by sea and by land forever; the sword also and the enemy be far from them. But if war arise for Rome first, or any of their confederates in all their dominion, the nation of the Jews shall help them as confederates as the occasion shall prescribe to them, with all their heart; and unto them that make war upon them they shall not give, neither supply, food, arms, money, or ships, as it has seemed good unto Rome, and they shall keep their ordinances without taking anything therefor. In the same manner, moreover, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them as confederates with all their soul, as the occasion shall prescribe to them; and to them that are confederates with their foes there shall not be given food, arms, money, or ships, as it has seemed good unto Rome; and they shall keep these ordinances, and that without deceit. According to these words have the Romans made a covenant thus with the people of the Jews" (I Macc. 8: 23-29).

Meanwhile, Demetrius, hearing that Nicanor had been killed, sent Bacchides to aid Alcimus again. Then ensued Judas' last battle. For some reason, the courage of Judas' band failed in the face of the great Syrian army. "And Judas was encamped at Alasa, and three thousand chosen men with him; and they saw the multitude of the forces, that they were many, and they feared exceedingly; and many slipped away out of the army; there were not left of them more than eight hundred men." "And the men of Judas' side, even they sounded with their trumpets and the earth shook with the shout of the armies, and the battle was joined, and continued from morning until evening. And Judas saw that Bacchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, and there went with him all that were brave in heart, and the right wing was discomfited by them, and he pursued after them unto the Mount Azotus. And they that were on the left wing saw that the right wing was discomfited and they turned and followed upon the footsteps of Judas and of those that were with him; and the battle waxed sore, and many on both parts fell wounded to death. And Judas fell and the rest fled" (I Macc. 9: 6-13, 18).

Such was the end of Judas. He was truly a great "Hammerer" and struck many a blow at the Syrian army until he himself was laid low. He did as much good in his death as in any of his great achievements in life, for his brothers and followers rallied to avenge his death. He was buried with great mourning at his home town, Modin. "And the rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did, and his greatness, they are not written; for they were exceeding many" (I Macc. 9: 22. Cf. John 21: 25).

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

BREASTED, Ancient Times, pp. 425-444.

Encyclopaedia Brittanica, art. Alexander the Great.

FAIRWEATHER, Background of the Gospels, pp. 95-115.

FAIRWEATHER, The First Book of Maccabees, pp. 53-170.

KENT, Biblical Geography and History, pp. 3-44; 207-221.

MATHEWS, History of New Testament Times, pp. 1-35.

McCown, The Genesis of the Social Gospel, pp. 37-74.

Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, Div. I, Vol. I, pp. 186-233.

THE RULERS OF SYRIA

335-323	Alexander the Great.
175-164	Antiochus IV Epiphanes.
164-162	
162-150	
153-145	
147-138	
145-138	
	the child, Antiochus VI, son of Alexander
. 0	Balas.
138-128	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
	trius II.
128-125	(
128-122	the state of the s
	Balas.
125-124	,
124-113	Ji was a second
	cus V.
113-95	Antiochus IX Cyzicenos, cousin and brother
	of Grypos.
111-96	Antiochus VIII (a second time).
95-83	Five sons of Grypos
	(1) Seleucus VI, (2) Antiochus XI, (3)
	Philip, (4) Demetrius III, Eucærus, (5)
	Antiochus XII contended with Antiochus
	X Eusebes, son of Antiochus Cyzicenos.
83–69	Tigranes, king of Armenia ruled Syria.
69–65	Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, son of Antiochus
	Eusebes.
65	Pompey made Syria a Roman Province.

Chapter II

GROWTH OF THE JEWISH STATE

JONATHAN (160-143 B.C.)

Jonathan Is Successful.—After the death of Judas, Jonathan, his brother, was at once chosen leader. "And all the friends of Judas were gathered together, and they said unto Jonathan, Since your brother Judas has died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies and Bacchides, and among them of our nation that hate us. Now therefore we have chosen you this day to be our prince and leader in his stead, that you may fight our battles. And Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up in the stead of his brother Judas" (I Macc. 9: 28–31).

Bacchides, the Syrian general, felt that the time was opportune for the extermination of the family of Maccabees. John, the oldest son of Mattathias, was seized and slain at Madaba. Jonathan avenged his brother's death by surprising a marriage ceremony and slaying many. Bacchides, hearing that Jonathan had gone to Madaba, marched to the Jordan River to intercept his return. Although it was the Sabbath day, Jonathan and his company fought desperately for their lives. "And the battle was joined, and Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, and he turned away back from him. And Jonathan and they that were with him leaped into the Jordan, and swam over to the other side; and they did not pass over Jordan against them. And there fell of Bacchides' company that day about a thousand men; and Jonathan returned to Jerusalem" (I Macc. 9: 47–50).

The position of Jonathan was further strengthened by the

death of Alcimus, the high priest (160 B.C.). At his death, Bacchides returned to Antioch "and the land of Judah had rest two years" (I Macc. 9: 57).

With the growing power of Jonathan, his rivals began to make themselves felt. They sent messengers privately to Bacchides promising to betray Jonathan into his hands. Jonathan, learning of the plot, put fifty of the leaders to death (I Macc. 9: 61). Then Bacchides arrived with a large army and pitched his camp at Bethbasi. "And Simon and they that were with him went out of the city, and set on fire the engines of war, and fought against Bacchides, and he was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore. And they were very wroth with the lawless men that gave him counsel to come into the country, and they slew many of them" (I Macc. 9: 67-69).

Following up Simon's success, Jonathan sent ambassadors to Bacchides and secured a very favorable treaty. Bacchides returned all his captives and agreed not to war against Jonathan again. "And he restored unto him the captives which he had taken aforetime out of the land of Judah, and he returned and departed into his own land, and came not any more into their borders. And the sword ceased from Israel. And Jonathan dwelt at Michmash; and Jonathan began to judge the people; and he destroyed the ungodly out of Israel" (I Macc. 9: 72-73).

Jonathan Made High Priest by Balas.—In the year 153 B.C. Demetrius found a formidable rival in a Syrian called Balas, who assumed the name of Alexander, claiming that he was the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. Alexander Balas seized Ptolemais on the coast and proclaimed himself king of Syria. He thereupon solicited the aid of Jonathan. Jonathan was clever enough to see that Alexander would be more than a match for Demetrius. He pitted one against the other to gain concessions from both. And in order to outdo the promises of Demetrius, Alexander appointed Jonathan high priest. Since the death of Alcimus seven years before, the office had remained vacant. So Alexander conceived this way of winning Jonathan's favor.

"And now we have appointed thee this day to be high priest

of thy nation, and to be called the king's friend (and he sent unto him a purple robe and a crown of gold), and to take our part, and to keep friendship with us" (I Macc. 10: 20).

Jonathan at once donned the official garb of the high priest (I Macc. 10: 21) (153 B.C.). The appropriation of the office by Jonathan is a significant point in the history of the Maccabees. Until this time the Maccabees had given themselves to military operations. Now appears the strange anomaly of a military genius filling the highest religious office of the Jews. It is the first step in the strange situation which afterward fully developed under Alexander Jannaeus who performed the duties of the high priest in such careless fashion that the Pharisees revolted, and as a result were slain in large numbers. The office of high priest and the office of political leadership could not be combined in those days when political power depended upon the most strategic manipulation of foreign alliances.

Alexander Balas succeeded in slaying Demetrius (I Macc. 10: 50) and became king (150 B.C.). He heaped high honors on Jonathan. He even invited Jonathan to his marriage when he wedded the Egyptian princess, Cleopatra, at Ptolemais (150 B.C.). Jonathan accepted, and joined in the festivities with the king of Syria and the king of Egypt. "And he went with pomp to Ptolemais, and met the two kings, and gave them and their friends silver and gold, and many gifts, and found favor in their sight" (I Macc. 10: 60). While there the Syrian king won Jonathan's loyalty by treating him royally. "And the king commanded, and they took off Jonathan's garments, and clothed him in purple; and thus they did. And the king made him sit with him" (I Macc. 10: 62-63). This again was a peculiar picture. The high priest of the Jews, who represented the separatism of his people and personified the holy law of Moses, enjoying a wedding festival with the two greatest kings of the East, clad in the robes of royalty, was indeed a strange sight!

Jonathan soon had the chance to show his loyalty to Alexander Balas. In 147 B.C. another aspirant to the Syrian throne arose. Demetrius II, the son of Demetrius I, gathered an army

and appointed Apollonius as his general (I Macc. 10: 69). Apollonius proceeded first against Jonathan. He pretended to be going on a visit to Azotus as the Syrian army passed by Joppa. Jonathan followed after. In the battle which ensued Jonathan and Simon were again victorious. "And the horsemen were scattered in the plain, and they fled to Azotus and entered into Beth-dagon, their idol's temple, to save themselves. And Jonathan burned Azotus, and the cities round about it, and took their spoils and the temple of Dagon, and them that fled into it he burned with fire. And they that had fallen by the sword, with them that were burned, were about eight thousand men. And from thence Jonathan removed, and encamped against Ascalon, and they of the city came forth to meet him with great pomp. And Jonathan, with them that were on his side, returned unto Jerusalem, having many spoils" (I Macc. 10: 83-87).

Alexander Balas was not slow to recognize the service which Jonathan had done him. "And it came to pass, when King Alexander heard these things, he honored Jonathan yet more; and he sent unto him a buckle of gold, as the use is to give to such as are of the kindred of the kings; and he gave him Ekron and all the coasts thereof for a possession" (I Macc. 10: 88–89).

Jonathan and Demetrius II.—The king of Egypt then took up the cause of Demetrius II, in spite of the fact that Alexander Balas had married his daughter. The Egyptian king succeeded in entering Antioch and crowning himself king of Egypt and king of Asia. "And Alexander fled into Arabia, that he might be sheltered there; and king Ptolemy was exalted" (I Macc. II: 16). "King Ptolemy died the third day after. And Demetrius reigned in the hundred and threescore and seventh year" (I Macc. II: 18–19) (145 B.C.).

Demetrius II would naturally have taken vengeance on Jonathan had he not desired to have him as an ally. "In those days, Jonathan gathered together them of Judea to take the citadel that was at Jerusalem; and he made many engines of war against it. And certain that hated their own nation, men that transgressed the law, went to the king, and reported to him

that Jonathan was besieging the citadel. And he heard, and was angered; but when he heard it, he set forth immediately, and came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan that he should not besiege it, and that he should meet him and speak with him at Ptolemais with all speed. But when Jonathan heard this, he commanded to besiege it still; and he chose certain of the elders of Israel and of the priests, and put himself in peril, and taking silver and gold and raiment and divers presents besides, went to Ptolemais to the king. And he found favor in his sight" (I Macc. 11: 20-24). "And the king did unto him even as his predecessors had done unto him, and exalted him in the sight of all his friends, and confirmed to him the high-priesthood and all the other honors that he had before, and gave him preëminence among his chief friends. And Jonathan requested of the king that he would make Judea free from tribute, and the three provinces, and the country of Samaria; and promised him three hundred talents. And the king consented" (I Macc. 11: 26-29). Except for three hundred talents, Judea was independent and free. Jonathan was high priest and ruler.

Jonathan and Trypho.-Again the Syrian throne was in danger. Trypho, who had belonged to the army of Alexander Balas, saw an opportunity to make himself king by taking advantage of the widespread discontent among the soldiers whom Demetrius had discharged. He seized the young son of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VI, a child only two or three years old, and proclaimed himself regent. Jonathan in turn took advantage of this situation to demand of Demetrius the removal of the Syrian garrison from the citadels of Jerusalem and of other cities. "And Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius that he should cast out of Jerusalem them of the citadel, and them that were in the strongholds; for they fought against Israel continually. And Demetrius sent unto Jonathan saying, I will not only do this for you and your nation, but I will greatly honor you and your nation, if I find fair occasion. Now therefore you will do well, if you send me men who will fight for me; for all my forces are revolted" (I Macc. 11: 41-43).

With the aid of Jonathan, Demetrius made his throne secure in Antioch. "And they set the city on fire, and got many spoils that day, and saved the king. And they of the city saw that the Jews had made themselves masters of the city as they would, and they waxed faint in their hearts, and they cried out to the king with supplication, saying, Give us your right hand, and let the Jews cease from fighting against us and the city. And they cast away their arms and made peace; and the Jews were glorified in the sight of the king, and before all that were in his kingdom; and they returned to Jerusalem having many spoils. And king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him" (I Macc. II: 48–52).

But Demetrius did not fulfill his promises to Jonathan. On the other hand, Trypho made rich presents to Jonathan and secured his friendship. He confirmed his position as high priest and appointed Simon commander of the seacoast towns. Jonathan at once began to secure the country for Trypho. He won Ascalon and Gaza. He proceeded northward. In Galilee he met the forces of Demetrius. "And Jonathan and his army encamped at the water of Gennesareth, and early in the morning they came to the plain of Hazor. And, behold, an army of strangers (Syrians) met Jonathan in the plain, and they laid an ambush for him in the mountains, but themselves met him face to face. But they that lay in ambush rose out of their places, and joined battle; and all they that were of Jonathan's side fled; not one of them was left, except Mattathias, the son of Absolom, and Judas, the son of Chalphi, captains of the forces. And Jonathan rent his clothes, and put earth upon his head, and prayed. And he turned again unto them in battle, and put them to the rout, and they fled. And they of his side that fled saw it, and returned unto him, and pursued with him unto Kedesh unto their camp, and they encamped there. And there fell of the strangers on that day about three thousand men; and Ionathan returned to Jerusalem" (I Macc. 11: 67-74).

Having driven the Syrian forces from Palestine, Jonathan again sent ambassadors to Rome and Sparta. "And Jonathan

saw that the time served him, and he chose men, and sent them to Rome, to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them. And to the Spartans, and to other places, he sent letters after the same manner" (I Macc. 12: 1-2). These treaties of the Maccabean princes opened the door wider and wider for Roman interference in Palestine. It is impressive to see the Roman power at this early date interesting itself in the quarrels between the Jews and their neighbors.

Again the forces of Demetrius returned (144 B.C.) toward Palestine and Jonathan met them in the north, at Hamath. "For he gave them no respite to set foot in his country. And they were appointed in such and such a way to fall upon them in the night season. But so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms, that all the night long they might be ready for battle; and he put forth sentinels round about the camp. And the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, and they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and they kindled fires in their camp. But Jonathan and his men knew it not till the morning: for they saw the lights burning. And Jonathan pursued after them, and overtook them not; for they were gone over the river Eleutherus" (I Macc. 12: 25-30). After this second defeat of Demetrius, Jonathan returned to Jerusalem and strengthened the fortresses of Judea.

Jonathan Captured.—Trypho now felt that nothing more was to be feared from Demetrius. Only two things could interfere with his usurpation of the throne. He must be rid of the child, Antiochus VI. He must put Jonathan out of the way, lest he should aid in the revolt which was sure to ensue. He decided to proceed against Jonathan, who had now done so much for him. He went to Ptolemais and promised to give the city to Jonathan. "And he said to Jonathan, Why have you put all this people to trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us? And now send them away to their homes, but choose for yourself a few men who shall be with you, and come with me to Ptolemais, and I will give it up to you, and the rest of the strongholds and the

rest of the forces, and all the king's officers; and I will return and depart; for this is the cause of my coming. And Jonathan put trust in him, and did even as he said, and sent away his forces, and they departed into the land of Judah. But he reserved to himself three thousand men, of whom he left two thousand in Galilee, but one thousand went with him. Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates and laid hands on him; and all them that came in with him they slew with the sword" (I Macc. 12: 44–48).

Of the five sons of Mattathias only Simon was left. John, the oldest, had been murdered at Madaba, Eleazar had fallen in battle at Beth-Zacharias, Judas at Alasa, Jonathan was now held a prisoner at Ptolemais.

SIMON (143-135 B.C.)

Establishes Peace and Prosperity.—After the capture of Jonathan, Simon was by popular consent chosen as his successor. "You are our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan your brother" (I Macc. 13: 8). Simon at once organized his forces and finished the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. Trypho meanwhile sent ambassadors to Simon saying that he would release Jonathan upon the payment of "one hundred talents of silver and the delivery of Jonathan's two sons as hostages" (I Macc. 13: 16). According to the account in I Maccabees, Simon realized that Trypho did not intend to keep his promise. Nevertheless, he felt that the Jews would hold him to answer if he did not attempt the rescue of Jonathan. So he sent the money and the two sons of Jonathan. Trypho showed his treachery at once by slaying Jonathan. As soon as Trypho left for Antioch, Simon obtained the body of Jonathan and buried him at Modin. "And all Israel made great lamentations over him, and mourned for him many days" (I Macc. 13: 26). The monument which Simon erected over the graves of his father and brethren was a polished and beautiful collection of pyramids and pillars ornamented with arms and ships. The monument could be seen

from the Mediterranean. "This is the sepulcher which he made at Modin, and it is there to this day" (I Macc. 13: 30).

Simon strengthened his defenses in Judea. He disregarded Trypho and recognized Demetrius as still king. He sent an embassy to Demetrius and concluded a treaty with him in which Demetrius acknowledged the independence of Judea. "And the strongholds which you have built, let them be your own. As for any oversights and faults committed unto this day, we forgive them; and if there were any other toll exacted in Jerusalem, let it be exacted no longer" (I Macc. 13: 38-39). It remained, however, for Simon to capture the citadel of Jerusalem which was still held by a Syrian garrison. Before doing this, he proceeded against the important fortress of Gazara. (The name Gaza in I Macc. 13:43 is certainly an error.) "And he made an engine of siege, and brought it up to the city and smote a tower, and took it" (I Macc. 13: 43). The city fell into his hands without a battle. Toward the inhabitants he showed mercy, but put into power men who he knew would be faithful to Jewish ideals. His own residence he erected there. "And he put all uncleanness out of it, and placed in it such men as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling-place for himself" (I Macc. 13: 48).

The citadel in Jerusalem he now besieged with great vigor. The garrison which was facing starvation soon yielded and Simon gained control. The day of Simon's entrance into the citadel was a time of peculiar exultation. It meant the independence of Judea both politically and religiously. "And he ordained that they should keep that day every year with gladness. And the hill of the temple that was by the citadel he made stronger than before, and there he dwelt, himself and his men" (I Macc. 13: 52).

During this time Syria was involved in the struggle between the two claimants to its throne. Demetrius now went into Media to gather an army to fight Trypho. But Arsaces, the Persian king, took him captive and put him in prison. The picture of the contemporary peace and prosperity of Judea is painted in fitting terms in I Macc. 14: 4-15:

"And the land had rest all the days of Simon; and he sought the good of his nation; and his authority and his glory was well pleasing to them all his days. And amid all his glory he took Joppa for a haven, and made it an entrance for the isles of the sea; and he enlarged the borders of his nation, and got possession of the country; and he gathered together a great number of captives, and got the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura and the citadel, and he took away its uncleannesses; and there was none that resisted him. And they tilled their land in peace, and the land gave her increase and the trees of the plains their fruit. The old men sat in the streets, they communed all of them together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and furnished them with all manner of munition, until the name of his glory was named unto the end of the earth. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy; and they sat each man under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to make them afraid; and there ceased in the land any that fought against them; and the kings were discomfited in those days. And he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low; the law he searched out, and every lawless and wicked person he took away. He glorified the sanctuary, and the vessels of the temple he multiplied" (I Macc. 14: 4-15).

Treaty with Rome.—In the flush of his power Simon did not forget the growing importance of Rome. What is still more interesting, Rome did not forget the importance of Simon. Here and in the subsequent history of the Jews, Rome's policy must be understood. She did not wish any power to arise in the East which might threaten her plans for future expansion. She knew that Palestine was the only highway between Syria and Egypt. If Egypt and Syria were to be pitted against each other so that neither should become powerful, it was very important that the independence of Judea should be established and main-

tained. This accounts for the curious anomaly of a small group of people holding its independence against Egypt on the one hand and Syria on the other. Their brief taste of political independence served only to make unpalatable the political subjection which later was certain to come. It would seem that the "chosen" people had to learn the lesson of unworldliness in a peculiarly tragic way. The whole struggle of the Jewish people in these centuries was teaching them that their mission in the world was other than political independence or power. The brief intervals of independence served by their very hopelessness to inflict this teaching with especial poignancy.

There is something pathetic in the jubilation of the Jews as they set up a memorial tablet in Jerusalem to Simon "and his sons." "For he and his brethren and the house of his father have made themselves strong, and have chased away in fight the enemies of Israel from them, and confirmed liberty to Israel" (I Macc. 14: 26). The tablet formally states that the house of the Maccabees had by their bravery and fortitude brought it about that the Jews were treated with great honor by the surrounding nations. To Simon especially was great respect due. The tablet recounted that King Demetrius had "confirmed to him the high-priesthood, and made him one of his friends, and honored him with great honor; for he had heard say, that the Jews had been called by the Romans, friends and confederates and brethren, and that they had met the ambassadors of Simon honorably; and that the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet" (I Macc. 14: 38-41). From this time the Maccabean prince is regarded as the hereditary leader of Israel until the "faithful prophet" should come who would inaugurate the Messianic Kingdom. "And that he should be captain over them, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over the country, and over the arms, and over the strongholds; and that he should be obeyed by all, and that all instruments in the country

should be written in his name, and that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold" (I Macc. 14: 42-43).

Battle with the Syrians at Modin.—While Demetrius II was still held as prisoner by the Persian king, his brother, Antiochus VII, laid claim to the throne of Syria. In soliciting the friendship of Simon, Antiochus granted him not only independence as far as it had been conceded by Demetrius II, but he also conferred upon Simon as ethnarch the right of coinage. He further promised great honor to Simon and the Jews in case he succeeded in his attempt to gain the Syrian throne. The coins of Simon are among the most interesting which the tourist picks up in Palestine today. They show that Simon had coined money before this time. Nevertheless, this Syrian recognition of his right so to do, together with other promises, proved very alluring to him.

After vanquishing Trypho, however, Antiochus assumed a high hand and sent word to Simon commanding him to acknowledge Syrian supremacy and to pay a heavy tribute, "or else we will come and subdue you" (I Macc. 15: 31).

Upon Simon's refusal, Antiochus sent his general, Cendebaeus, against Judea. Simon took "twenty thousand men of war" and went down to Modin to meet Cendebaeus. "And rising up in the morning, they went into the plain, and behold, a great host came to meet them, of footmen and horsemen; and there was a brook betwixt them. And he encamped over against them, he and his people; and he saw that the people were afraid to pass over the brook, and he passed over first, and the men saw him and passed over after him. . . . And they sounded with the trumpets; and Cendebaeus and his army were put to the rout, and there fell of them many wounded to death, but they that were left fled to the stronghold" (I Macc. 16: 5, 6–8). The Syrian forces fled, as usual, toward the Philistine country where their safety lay, and Simon returned to Jerusalem in peace (139 B.C.).

Death of Simon.—Simon's death, like that of his brothers, was destined to be a violent one. Treachery, too, played an

important part. He was invited by his young son-in-law, Ptolemy of Egypt, to a banquet in the castle of Dok near Jericho. Here he was murdered with two of his sons. Ptolemy's plot to gain the supreme power failed only because John, the third son of Simon, was not present at the banquet. John succeeded in keeping himself away from Ptolemy until he could gather his followers and establish himself.

With the death of Simon the first book of Maccabees ends. It is unfortunate that it does not accompany us further, for the insight which it affords into the inner spirit and character of these campaigns is especially valuable in judging the times and their effects upon the people. Our history must now become less personal, more scientific, less detailed, more tabulated, less a following of a popular ideal, more a narration of the intrigues of those in authority. It is with genuine regret that we leave these simpler folk to accompany, for a while, those high in power. Our information changes at this point from those who had need of a great physician, to those who were strong in their might: from the sinners to the self-righteous; from the simple kind of people among whom Jesus labored to the royal court in which Herod Antipas ordered the head of John the Baptist to be brought on a platter. But while our sources of information change, it is important to bear in mind those who were thinking not so much of political advancement as of their duty to their God; who were looking eagerly for that coming Kingdom some day to be realized in which their God would establish justice among His people.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

FAIRWEATHER, Background of the Gospels, pp. 115-134.

FAIRWEATHER, The First Book of Maccabees, pp. 170-263.

KENT, Biblical Geography and History, pp. 3-44, 222-225.

MATHEWS, History of New Testament Times, pp. 36-58.

SCHURER, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, Div. I, Vol. I, pp. 234-272.

Chapter III

RISE OF THE PHARISEES

JOHN HYRCANUS (135-105 B.C.)

After the violent death of Simon, his son John Hyrcanus who had been governor of Gazara was nominated his successor. Ptolemy who had murdered John's father and the two brothers attempted to seize John also. But Hyrcanus had been informed of this intention and had proceeded at once to Jerusalem and fortified himself there. Ptolemy shut himself up in the fortress of Dok near Jericho. His only safeguard against the vengeance of Hyrcanus was the fact that he held the mother of Hyrcanus as prisoner and threatened to kill her if Hyrcanus made any attack. Ptolemy eventually made his escape to Egypt.

Hyrcanus was left in possession of Judea, but was forced to meet a Syrian invasion at the very outset. Antiochus VII laid siege to Jerusalem. A Jewish embassy had gone to Rome to ask for the restoration of the towns which Syria had taken from Judea. It was probably due to fear of Rome that Antiochus was persuaded to make a treaty with Hyrcanus. The terms of the agreement were that the Jews should be subject to regular tribute, should give hostages and pay an indemnity of five hundred talents. The walls of Jerusalem were overthrown and Antiochus withdrew.

All the early years of the reign of Hyrcanus are additional testimony to the fact that Judea could hold its independence only when Roman interference or Syrian civil war relieved the immediate pressure upon the Jews. The little Jewish state surely suffered the pangs of Tantalus who, according to an old legend, was condemned to stand in water up to his chin and

yet to continually parch and waste away because of a consuming thirst.

Hyrcanus' subjection to the rule of Antiochus is revealed by the fact that he was required to take part in the Syrian expedition against the Parthians (129 B.C.). He seems, however, to have escaped the disaster which came upon Antiochus in that campaign. The death of Antiochus (128 B.C.) gave a new turn to the strife between the claimants for the Syrian throne. Demetrius II, now released by the Parthians, looked to Hyrcanus for aid.

Hyrcanus improved the opportunity to extend his power in the districts round about Judea. It required six months to subdue Madaba. Then he turned his attention to Samaria, capturing Shechem and Mount Gerizim and destroying the temple. Then he marched against Idumea in the south. There, he enforced the Jewish law, including circumcision, and the Idumeans were henceforth regarded as at least half Jews. Herod the Great, who later became king of Judea and who was ruling at the time of Jesus' birth, was an Idumean.

A discussion of the complexities of the civil war in Syria is not germane to our purpose. The attention of Syria, however, was so taken up with its own troubles that the Jews were given a respite and the reign of Hyrcanus was regarded by Josephus, the historian, as a very prosperous one. The taxes levied upon Judea were not paid after the death of Antiochus in 128 B.C. The city of Samaria, which held out long after Shechem had surrendered, appealed to Syria for assistance, but it did not avail much. Samaria fell after a siege of one year.

It is to be regretted that Josephus has not given us a more detailed record of the time of Hyrcanus. It was a period of rapid growth of power. Hyrcanus called himself high priest, as we learn from his coins. He was the first Jewish ruler who placed his own name upon his coins. The inscription reads as follows: "John the high priest, head of the congregation of the Jews." Politically the principal significance of his reign is the

extension of Jewish rule to the east and north and south, as well as the freedom from tribute to Syria.

The increasing gap between the Maccabean house and the party of the Pharisees is noteworthy. Pharisees were loyal observers of the Mosaic law. The uprising of Mattathias and his sons was in line with this reverence for the law. The Maccabees were at one with the Pharisees until the Maccabean leaders began to have political aspirations. Then mutual suspicion and hostility arose. The attitude which at first brought the Maccabees and the religiously-minded Pharisees together gradually changed. The gossip which questioned the paternity of Hyrcanus (Josephus, Antiquities XIII: x: 5-6) had its real historical background in the strained relationship growing up between the Pharisees and Hyrcanus. The political ambitions of the latter were drawing him slowly into league with the more politically-minded and aristocratic Sadducees. For the next forty vears this strife between Pharisee and Sadducee was destined to become more and more acute.

ARISTOBULUS I (105-104 B.C.)

In his will Hyrcanus bequeathed the high-priesthood to his oldest son, Aristobulus. The other affairs of the government he left to his wife. The high-priesthood could not be held by a woman. Aristobulus did not see the justice of this arrangement. He proceeded to imprison his mother and three brothers. Only Antigonus was left at liberty. To him he gave a part in the government. This provided an opportunity for ambitious schemers to breed suspicion between the brothers. Aristobulus sent a message to Antigonus to come to him unarmed. The enemies of Antigonus changed the message to read that he should appear clad in his best armor. Aristobulus gave orders that if Antigonus should come armed he should be slain. Antigonus put on his armor and as he approached the palace was put to death by the guards.

Josephus tells us that the shortness of the reign of Aristo-

bulus was due in large measure to a broken heart and to discouragement over his family relations. Probably the cruel stories about him had their source in inventions of the Pharisees, who became more and more estranged from him.

Aristobulus favored Greek culture. He was called a friend of the Greeks. His relations with the Sadducees were consequently very close and sympathetic. It is very probable, too, that Josephus is correct in saying that he assumed the title of king (Josephus, Antiquities XIII: 11: 1), although Strabo (Geography XVI: 40) says that Alexander, his successor, was the first king. It is probable that Strabo overlooks the reign of Aristobulus because of its shortness. Aristobulus was the first to assume the purely political position which Alexander, his successor, adopted.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS (104-78 B.C.)

After the death of Aristobulus, his widow, Alexandra, came into power. The brothers of Aristobulus were liberated from their imprisonment. The oldest one, Alexander Jannæus, married Alexandra and became king and high priest. His reign, although a stormy one, brought prosperous times to political Judaism. By continuous conquests he extended the boundaries of Judea until they almost reached those of King David's empire.

He proceeded first against Ptolemais. He would have taken the city had not the inhabitants called Ptolemy the Egyptian to their aid. Ptolemy had been driven out of Egypt by his mother, Cleopatra, and was glad of an opportunity to increase his power. At his approach Alexander abandoned his attempt to take Ptolemais and made a treaty. The treaty was for a short time observed on both sides, but soon Alexander secretly called Cleopatra to his aid. Before Cleopatra could come Ptolemy learned of the treachery and launched an active campaign of destruction. The army of Ptolemy and the army of Alexander met at the Jordan River at "Asophon." The Egyptian army, by a concentrated attack on a part of Alexander's army, threw

the Jews into confusion. The Egyptians were merciless in following up their advantage. Josephus says that thirty thousand were slain.

"After this victory Ptolemy overran all the country" (Josephus, Antiquities XIII: 12:6). Cleopatra finally arrived and drove him out. She planned to reduce the Jews to subjection, but her Jewish general advised her to make peace with Alexander.

Alexander then made expeditions into the countries surrounding Judea to extend and strengthen his domain. He crossed the Jordan and captured Gadara (Cf. Lk. 8: 26) and Amathus north of the Jabbok. Next he invaded the Philistine plain. He took Raphia, Anthedan, and Gaza; the last-named city he subdued in the year 96 B.C., after a siege of at least a year.

Alexander's troubles at home then occupied his whole attention. Civil war broke out which lasted for six years and claimed at least fifty thousand Jews as victims. The origin of this civil strife lay in the antagonism between the king and the Pharisees. A military hero was hardly temperamentally fitted for the sacerdotal routine which was involved in discharging the office of high priest. On one occasion Alexander was so crude in the performance of his sacred duties that the Jews in anger threw at him the citrons or lemons which they were carrying as festal emblems. This so angered Alexander that he ordered his hired troops to massacre the Jews. Six thousand of them were slain. It is difficult to measure the revulsion which such a display of wanton cruelty aroused in the minds of the Jewish people. Massacre had its horrors, but when pious Jews, insisting on exact observations of their religious convictions, were hewn down by hired foreigners, the effect upon national and religious pride was acute and lasting. In spite of Alexander's strenuous endeavors to suppress the rebellion for six years, the bloodshed and revolt went on. At one time during the bloody struggle, when Alexander offered to make a treaty with the people on their own terms, they answered, "Our only condition of peace is that you kill yourself."

The people appealed to Syria, and in 88 B.C. Demetrius brought his army into Palestine. The popular national party, with the aid of Demetrius, defeated Alexander and slew all his hired troops. Such a victory was more than the people expected. It took them by surprise. It soon dawned upon them that the defeat of the Maccabean leader meant subjection to Syria again. Six thousand Jews deserted the army of Demetrius and joined the army of Alexander. These reinforcements enabled Alexander to drive Demetrius from the land. The revolting Jews made their last stand at Bethome (an unidentified city). Alexander took the city and brought the leaders of the rebellion to Jerusalem. There he publicly crucified eight hundred of these Pharisee leaders. Other opponents of Alexander, horrified by the swift and terrible revenge of the Maccabean, fled from the city. During the rest of his reign civil war was unknown.

These events brought to its flood tide the antagonism between the Maccabees and the Pharisees. The Maccabean House, once the champion of religious observances, had now come to a place where its leader could order the wholesale crucifixion of those who desired only to defend the law and the temple sanctity. During the last years of his reign Alexander carried on with even greater ardor his military exploitations. He was continually engaged in war. When Antiochus XII marched through Palestine to attack the king of the Arabians, who was aiding Philip in his attempt to gain the Syrian throne, Alexander Jannæus tried to stop his progress by building a great wall across his path near Joppa. Antiochus marched through, nevertheless, burning and slaving as he went. But the Arabian king, Aretas, succeeded in slaving Antiochus, and as a result of the victory extended his domain as far as Damascus. From then on, it was not Syria, but Arabia, which was Judea's most dangerous neighbor. Aretas soon attacked Alexander and forced him to retreat, but by making concessions Alexander induced him to withdraw again.

During the next three years (84-81 B.C.) Alexander was successful in his campaigns. He took Pella, Dium, Gerasa, and

many other fortresses. In 81, during his triumphal reception in Jerusalem, he was taken ill. Nevertheless, he carried on his military operations until 78. He died during the siege of Ragaba after pledging his wife to keep his death a secret until the city had fallen.

Alexander's reign was the most martial and the least religious of all the Maccabean princes. He can hardly be called a Hellenist, although the growing Hellenism of the time is indicated by the coins which were inscribed not only in Hebrew, but also in Greek. While he opposed the Pharisees, nevertheless, he forced the countries which he conquered to accept Judaism.

ALEXANDRA (78-69 B.C.)

Alexandra (Hebrew, Salome), left a widow by two successive monarchs, followed Alexander on the Maccabean throne. At his death he advised her to ally herself with the Pharisees. He came in the course of his long reign to realize their great power. So Alexandra named her oldest son, Hyrcanus, high priest. She was a very able woman and her reign marks the rise of the Pharisees to prominence and influence.

The counselors of King Alexander, at whose instigation the eight hundred Pharisees had been crucified, were put to death. This frightened all of the Sadducees, the enemies of the Pharisees, and at once they fled from Jerusalem. Save for the bloodshed involved, the days of Alexandra were indeed prosperous days for the Pharisees. They grew in power and in turn the temple with its worship grew in respect. The "half shekel" was levied upon all adult Jews throughout the world for the support of their national worship.

The Sadducees who had been driven out of Jerusalem took refuge in the outlying fortresses. They knew Alexandra could not live many years, so they waited their opportunity. After their taste of power under Alexander Jannæus they could not be content to see their Pharisaic opponents in possession of national affairs. During her lifetime Alexandra preserved peace both within and without the borders of her kingdom. At the age of seventy-three she fell ill and it was clear that her death was near. The Sadducees immediately laid their plans to regain their lost authority.

Aristobulus II (69-63 B.C.)

After the death of Alexandra, her son, Hyrcanus II, became king as well as high priest. The Sadducean leaders soon had an opportunity to again come into power. Aristobulus, a younger son, aspired to the throne of Hyrcanus. He called the Sadducees to his aid, thus easily displaced Hyrcanus and induced him to retire shortly after the beginning of his reign. Aristobulus gained control of both civil and religious administrations. As the last of the Maccabean House, he ruled until the independence of Judea terminated with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C.

The remarkable rise of the house of Antipater is of interest at this juncture. Antipater, a man of great power and political insight, was governor of the Idumeans. Idumea had been conquered and judaized some fifty years earlier. Antipater now took up the cause of Hyrcanus. His motive may have been to gain the political control of Judea by expelling both the brothers. In any case, he realized that by taking the part of the retired Hyrcanus he could secure a place of influence in the government. He could use the weak-willed Hyrcanus for this purpose better than he could the strong-minded Aristobulus.

Thus Antipater persuaded Hyrcanus that his brother had seriously wronged him. He advised Hyrcanus to appeal to the Arabian king, Aretas, at Petra. He then convinced the Jews that it was illegal for the younger brother to rule over the older brother. Finally he persuaded Aretas that it would be of great advantage to him to aid Hyrcanus. The military genius and political scheming which were characteristic of the House

of Antipater and was specially prominent in his son, Herod the Great, is obvious in this threefold strategy.

Hyrcanus promised to give back to Aretas the Arabian territory which Alexander Jannæus had taken. In return, Aretas made an alliance with Hyrcanus and furnished fifty thousand Arab leaders. With this help Hyrcanus was able to defeat Aristobulus and force him to take refuge in Jerusalem.

The interference of Rome kept Hyrcanus from consolidating his victory. The time had come at last when the treaties with Rome were to bear fruit. It was to be bitter fruit, for while the two brothers were fighting over Jerusalem, Pompey was carrying on a campaign in Pontus and Armenia. He sent his deputy Scaurus to take possession of Syria (66 B.C.). Arriving in Syria and hearing of the civil strife in Judea, Scaurus marched at once against Jerusalem. Each of the brothers sent an embassy to him offering him large reward for aid against the other. Rome's policy was always to help the weaker side. So Aristobulus and Scaurus formed an alliance and routed Hyrcanus and the Arab army. As a result, the supremacy of Rome in Judea, although not formally recognized, became an immediate fact.

In 63 B.C. Pompey himself came to Damascus. There he was met by three embassies. Hyrcanus asked that he be restored to the throne. Aristobulus requested recognition of his position as occupant of that throne. The third embassy was from the common people of Judea. It is instructive to hear from time to time of the "people" of the Jews. They were weary of political intrigue and of fighting kings. They wished to have peace and the opportunity for the observance of the rites of their religion. It was the same "people" who had followed the sons of Mattathias in their effort to gain peace and prosperity. They were the people who sought not earthly power, who strove not after political offices or great wealth, who had no desire to be clothed in purple as Jonathan had been clothed at Ptolemais. They were of the people who make the life of any

country, who bear the burden of the heat of the day. It was such people of the Jews that heard Jesus preach his message of a kingdom of brotherly love and promise peace and joy in the holy spirit.

The people asked Pompey to restore the old theocracy. They told him that they wished to be subject not to political and military fighters, but to God and to his priests. Pompey, however, postponed his decision until he could first complete his campaign against the Nabateans in which he was then engaged.

THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM (63 B.C.)

Pompey had kept Hyrcanus and Aristobulus with him. Aristobulus succeeded in escaping and in fortifying himself in Jerusalem against an attack. Pompey, finding that a real opposition had arisen, turned his attention seriously to Jerusalem. The people opened the gates to Pompey. Aristobulus personally surrendered, but the party of Aristobulus prepared for a long resistance, fortifying the temple and taking refuge there. Pompey was obliged to continue the siege for three months.

In the days of Mattathias, his followers had been slain because they would not defend themselves on the Sabbath. The Maccabees had decided that they would fight if attacked on the holy day. Now a new but similar situation arose. Pompey cleverly conceived the idea of using the Sabbath for throwing up earthworks against the wall of the temple and citadel. The Jews would not fight on the offensive on the Sabbath day. Pompey employed Sabbath after Sabbath through these months in bringing his mound and his engines of war closer and closer to the wall. He was not attacked on the Sabbath. At the end of three months the ground which he had piled against the wall was sufficiently high to enable him to make a charge and storm the citadel.

Josephus' description of the spirit of the priests during this siege is a great tribute to the religious loyalty of the Jews. It is akin to the loyalty of the early Christians in the face of death.

When the Romans understood this thing, on those days which we call Sabbaths they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next days. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of His laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations, by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city was taken in the third month, on the day of the feast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away, neither by the fear that they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit anything that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written the acts of Pompey; and among them to Strabo and Nicolaus (of Damascus); and besides these two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this thing" (Iosephus, Antiquities XIV: 4:3).

Pompey revealed his Roman nature in the severity with which he meted out his punishment. When he took the temple the slaughter of the Jews eclipsed any Syrian slaughter. Josephus says that twelve thousand were slain. When Pompey entered the temple and the Holy of Holies, however, he did not disturb the vast treasure collected there. He quickly made peace on the following conditions: Judea was to be subject to Rome. Hyrcanus was to have the title of ethnarch and high priest. The territories which Alexander Jannæus had annexed to Judea were to be surrendered and Rome was to place over them her own local governors. Finally a Roman garrison was to remain in Jerusalem.

Pompey then withdrew from Palestine, taking with him Aristobulus and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus. Alexander escaped and later instituted a revolt in Judea. The others marched in Pompey's triumphal procession in Rome.

ROMAN RULE

From the conquest of Judea (63 B.C.) to the accession of Herod the Great (40 B.C.) Judea was in a continual state of revolt. The first rebellion against Roman rule was headed by the escaped Alexander, who raised an army of ten thousand. Gabinius, who had been left in charge by Pompey, easily put down the rebellion. The tremendous power of Roman military operations was overwhelming and impressive. The greatness of Roman military genius overcame with ease insurrections similar to those which had taxed the powers of Syria to the utmost. Gabinius then fortified the cities around Jerusalem and made his position as secure as possible.

No sooner had he done this than Aristobulus II, with his son Antigonus, arrived in Judea after escaping from Rome and set up a second revolt. This was again easily subdued. Aristobulus was recaptured and sent back to Rome. His son Antigonus was left at large.

While Gabinius was busy with a campaign in Egypt a third revolt started under Alexander, who proclaimed himself king of the Jews and declared Judea independent. Antipater won the favor of Rome by helping to quell the disturbance. He met Alexander at Mount Tabor and defeated him. Antipater soon was the trusted lieutenant of Gabinius. Gabinius came more and more to rely upon him and to use him in the government of Palestine.

In Rome, the triumvirate was formed: Cæsar, Pompey, Cras-

sus. In the division of the empire among these three, Syria was assigned to Crassus. He came at once to the east on an expedition against Parthia. On his way he stopped at Jerusalem and took possession of the treasure in the temple. It is hard to say which angered the Jews the more, the entrance of Pompey into the Holy of Holies or the sacking of the treasure to the extent of 10,000 talents by Crassus. While Crassus was in Parthia he suffered defeat and was killed.

Meanwhile another revolt broke out in Judea. It was put down by Cassius, who defeated the Jews, executed their leader, and sold thirty thousand as slaves. Antipater's influence is again noticeable. It was he who instigated the selling of so many Jews into slavery. Among these were many whom he considered dangerous to his own ambitions.

In the year 48 B.C. Cæsar defeated Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia. Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was murdered. Antipater, who had supported Pompey, then made a quick shift in loyalty, assuring Cæsar that he was his friend and would aid him. He made an expedition into Egypt and assisted Cæsar materially in his war there. Cæsar in return made him a Roman citizen, freed him from tribute, and recognized him as administrator under Hyrcanus the high priest. Many of the restrictions which had been placed upon the Jews were eased and made more bearable. This was the beginning of the favor which the Jews enjoyed under the Roman Empire. Cæsar exempted them from military service. He allowed them to build the walls of Jerusalem and other cities. It is easy to understand why the Jews always thought of Cæsar as a benefactor of their nation.

The most significant contemporary fact for the later history of Judea was the growing power of Antipater as the representative of Roman power in Judea. Antipater later made his son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem, and Herod, his other son, governor of Galilee.

In 44 B.C. Cæsar was assassinated. Antipater gave his allegiance at once to Cassius. In 43 B.C. Antipater was poisoned

and his son Herod succeeded him. About the same time Cassius was defeated by Antony. Then Herod started out to win the favor of Antony in true Idumean fashion.

At this point the Parthians, who were as yet unconquered by Roman armies, took advantage of the civil war in the Roman Empire to march westward to the Mediterranean. They overran Palestine, putting Phasaelus and Hyrcanus in prison and placing Antigonus the son of Aristobulus on the throne. Herod was compelled to flee and take refuge in the small impregnable rock fortress of Masada near the Dead Sea. But Herod, even against great odds, slowly gained favor with Rome and in Judea until he became finally one of the greatest figures of Jewish history.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

FAIRWEATHER, Background of the Gospels, pp. 137-176.

HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary, Art. "Pharisees."

HERFORD, The Pharisees (2nd ed.).

KENT, Biblical Geography and History, pp. 225-232.

Mathews, History of New Testament Times, pp. 59-107.

Moore, Judaism.

RIDDLE, Jesus and the Pharisees, pp. 1-13.

Schurer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, Div. I, Vol. 1, pp. 272-325.

Chapter IV

PALESTINE UNDER THE ROMANS

HEROD THE GREAT (40-4 B.C.)

A King in Search of a Kingdom.—Herod I, king of Judea and Galilee at the time of Jesus' birth, has been called "great" to distinguish him from the weak rulers who followed him. He was not, in any sense, one of the greatest men of history. He could not, for instance, be classed with Napoleon the Great, nor with Alexander. Yet his career as an Oriental monarch was in many ways remarkable. Josephus gives a graphic description of his physical strength:

"Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts: that country breeds also bears and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood; many men, therefore, there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And then besides these performances of his, depending on his own strength of mind and body, fortune was also very favorable to him; for he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he failed, he was not himself the occasion of such failings, but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat" (Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* I: 21: 13).

Finally, Herod escaped from the fortress of Masada where he had fled for safety during the Parthian invasion, and made his way at once to the imperial city of Rome. It was his plan to obtain Roman assistance in gaining for himself the Jewish regency, with Aristobulus as king. The journey was fraught with difficulty and danger. But on his arrival Antony recognized the inherent ability of the man. Antony and Octavius decided that Herod was preëminently fitted to preserve peace and to maintain Roman authority in Palestine, so they conferred on him the title of "King of Judea."

This action placed Herod in the anomalous position of being a "king," without a kingdom. It was not until 37 B.C. that he entered Jerusalem. In 39 B.C. he returned to Palestine and began to establish himself. From Ptolemais where he disembarked, he proceeded first to Joppa and took the city. He then marched around to the relief of the fortress of Masada, but indifference on the part of the Roman forces which had been provided by Antony to assist him made it impossible for him to lay siege to Jerusalem.

While the Roman generals were resisting the attack of the Parthians in the spring of 38 B.C., Herod subdued the robbers who had been a great danger in Galilee. He ferreted them out of their rocky caves and made the country secure from their depredations. In the summer of 38, after the Roman defeat of the Parthians, Herod presented himself again to Antony, who had come to Samosata, and complained to him of the lack of support from the Roman forces.

Antony heard his complaint. Sossius was commanded to give positive and active aid to Herod. Herod then proceeded with determination to the task of overthrowing the supporters of Antigonus. Joseph, the brother of Herod, had already been defeated and beheaded. Herod overwhelmed a detachment of the army of Antigonus in Samaria and soon only Jerusalem was left to offer resistance.

With the assistance of Sossius and a large Roman army Herod felt sure that his attack on Jerusalem would be successful. So confident did he feel as he attacked the city that he took a holiday and went to Samaria in order to marry Mariamme, the Maccabean princess, an event he had been long postponing until he should establish himself as king. It took the battering-rams forty days to demolish the first, or outer, wall of Jerusalem. The second was demolished fifteen days later. The temple was taken after a further siege. Then the invading Roman army gave itself to an orgy of murder and plunder. Herod succeeded, only by great presents, in stopping their murderous pillage of his city. Antigonus was sent captive to Antony and later, at Herod's request, put to death. In 37 B.C. Herod became actual ruler of Judea.

The Period of Conflict.—The period from 37 to 25 B.C. was one long period of struggle. During those years Herod was constantly combating enemies of one kind or another.

The Pharisees were naturally opposed to the rule of a man who was an Idumean and an ally of Rome. But the Sadducean nobility who had supported Antigonus, were also his enemies. Forty-five of the most prominent of the Sadducees were executed at the command of Herod; the confiscation of their goods procured money for his treasury. But Herod's most determined enemy was his own mother-in-law, Alexandra. Through the influence of her daughter, Mariamme, she had her son Aristobulus, Mariamme's brother, made high priest. To do this she was forced to dispose of Hyrcanus and Ananel. Herod had brought back the aged Hyrcanus from captivity. His ears had been cut off, so that he could not become high priest himself. Herod, therefore, had chosen an obscure Babylonian Jew named Ananel to be high priest to assist Hyrcanus. He now had to depose Ananel, although legally the position of high priest was for life.

Young Aristobulus was, however, not long to remain in office. He was too popular. Herod feared this handsome prince of the Asmonean line. In 35 B.C. a demonstration at the Feast of Tabernacles decided matters in Herod's mind. Aristobulus was drowned while bathing with his comrades. The people refused to believe that it was an accident in spite of Herod's public expression of grief.

Alexandra appealed at once to Cleopatra, who requested Antony to call Herod to account. Herod took gifts with him and succeeded in persuading Antony to pronounce him innocent. As he had not been sure that he would return alive, he had commanded his uncle Joseph to slay Mariamme if he should not return. He could not bear the thought of anyone else possessing her. But his secret command to Joseph became known to her, and this expression of his love proved a great menace to the family relations.

Cleopatra was another enemy with whom Herod had to reckon during all these first years of his reign. She requested of Antony the best districts of Palestine, including the beautiful environs of Jericho. Antony granted her request and Herod was forced to make the best of a bad situation.

The war between Antony and Octavius, which broke out in 32 B.C., presented a serious situation for Herod. But fortune favored him again. He was sent by Antony, at Cleopatra's request, to subdue Arabia. Thus he was not actively engaged in the conflict between Antony and Octavius. In his campaign against Arabia he was at first unsuccessful. After a series of defeats he could only make intermittent attacks. In 31 B.C. Palestine was afflicted by an earthquake. Thirty thousand men are said to have perished. His forces depleted, Herod made overtures for peace. His messengers, however, were murdered by the Arabs. Herod then gathered all the troops he could find, revived their sinking courage by his oratory, and sallied forth again toward Arabia. This time he succeeded in overwhelming the Arabian army.

Meanwhile, Antony and Octavius had come to grips. The great battle of Actium occurred on the 2nd of September, 31 B.C. As a result of the issue Herod now found himself obliged to seek the favor of Octavius. Since Herod had not been actively engaged against Octavius and was now able to render some assistance to the Roman troops in Syria, he decided to present himself to Octavius and to request of him the confirmation of his title as king of Judea.

In the spring of 30 B.C. he found Octavius, now Augustus Cæsar, on the Island of Rhodes. Herod boldly related his past

services to Antony, intimating his present usefulness to Augustus. Augustus in his turn saw the value of retaining this man who had always been found faithful to Roman authority. So Herod attained the object of his visit, was confirmed in his position as king, and went back to Judea rejoicing.

When Augustus passed through Palestine on his way to Egypt and again on his return northward, Herod treated him with great pomp and honor. In return he received back from Augustus the beautiful environs of Jericho which Antony had given to Cleopatra. He received also other important fortresses.

Again Herod had trouble in his own family. On his departure for Rhodes he repeated his command concerning Mariamme, that she should be slain if he did not return. Again Mariamme learned of his order. Upon the return of Herod, Salome, his sister, persuaded the royal cup-bearer to tell Herod that Mariamme was plotting to poison him. Herod investigated the charge at once, and when he found that his secret command had again become known to Mariamme the suspicion seemed to be well founded. Mariamme was tried and pronounced guilty of such a plot and put to death in 29 B.C.

Herod's remorse over the death of his beloved wife drove him to seek relief in long and strenuous hunting parties and excessive revelry which even his powerful constitution could not stand. He became so ill that Alexandra thought he was about to die. She immediately started an intrigue with those who were in command of the fortress of Jerusalem, with a view to making herself queen after his death. But Herod discovered what she was doing. In 28 B.C. Alexandra was also put to death.

Salome, the sister, was growing weary of her husband, Costobar, an Idumean of considerable ability, whom Herod had made governor of Idumea. Costobar had secretly kept alive certain children who were distantly connected with the Asmonean family. These "sons of Babos" had been sought by Herod for many years. Salome now revealed the secret to Herod and the children were slain. Thus in 25 B.C. the last relative of Hyrcanus and the last possible rival to the throne was put out of the way.

So less than a quarter of a century before the birth of Christ the Maccabean line which had championed the cause of the people so gloriously had come to an end. The old Maccabean days were gone. Since the death of Simon the leaders of the Jews had drifted farther and farther away from sympathy with the people, until now their only leader was a foreigner whose greatest ambition was to maintain his close relationship with Rome and Cæsar. The people had no one to whom they could look for shepherding care. A few years later Jesus of Nazareth appeared with the glad announcement of a coming kingdom which would not be a kingdom of Herod, but a Kingdom of God, a kingdom not for the leaders at Jerusalem, but for the "poor" of Galilee (Lk. 6: 20. See p. 120).

The Period of Building.—The years from 25 to 13 B.C. were the prosperous years of Herod's reign. There were fewer executions, fewer battles. Economic enterprises flourished. The kingdom of which he had now become a secure master developed

power and prestige.

Although a "Barbarian," Herod endeavored to imitate the Greek culture. Especially noteworthy were his building enterprises. At Jerusalem he constructed a theater and amphitheater. Later, in 24 B.C., he built himself a beautiful and richly adorned palace which he fortified against the possibility of siege. The city of Samaria he entirely rejuvenated and rehabilitated, giving it a new name, Sebaste. On the coast he took the site of Strato's Tower and built there a city with a splendid harbor, giving it the name of Cæsarea in honor of Cæsar Augustus. In the plain he built the city of Antipatris in honor of his father Antipater. Phasaelis near the Jordan he built in honor of his brother Phasaelus. Agrippæum he named after Agrippa. For himself he reared two citadels called Herodium, one ten miles south of Jerusalem on what today is called the Frank Mountain. The view from this mountain on whose peak the ruins of Herod's great castle still remain is glorious and impressive. Nowhere else is the panorama of the Dead Sea and the surrounding country so magnificent. He restored and fortified Alexandrium, Hyrcania and the impregnable fortresses of Machærus and Masada.

His building operations were not confined to Palestine. On the island of Rhodes he built the Pythian Temple. In Nicopolis near Actium he aided the erection of many public buildings. Antioch, Chios, Ascalon, Tyre, Sidon, and even Athens benefited from his building enthusiasm.

But his crowning achievement was the restoration of the temple at Jerusalem. The magnificence of Jerusalem and of Herod's court had outgrown the temple of Zerubbabel. Herod began the reconstruction of the temple in the year 20–19 B.C. According to the Gospel of John (2: 20) the work had been going on for forty-six years. The completion of the temple did not occur, however, until 62 A.D., a few years before its final destruction. It was a proverb in the time of Christ, "He who has not seen Herod's building has never seen anything beautiful."

Not only in building enterprises, but in many other ways, Herod displayed his enthusiasm for Greek culture. Greek games were held at Jerusalem and at Cæsarea. Colonies were established, especially in the country on the "other" side of the Sea of Galilee, where Jesus often resorted. He drove out the robbers and demoniacs, making it a civilized and habitable, though rocky, section. At Jerusalem he laid parks with walks and fountains. He installed places for the rearing of domestic pigeons.

Herod gathered about him a large company of Greek philosophers and learned men to keep him informed as to what was best in the Greek world. His whole court was Greek rather than Oriental, yet in spite of it all he remained a barbarian in mind and spirit. It was not an idle boast when he claimed to be more of a Greek than a Jew, but the boast was true only in an external and political sense. He was a violent and passionate monarch to the end.

¹Compare the view from Nebi Samwil or Emmaus as described by van Dyke, Out of Doors in the Holy Land, p. 71.

His relation to the Pharisees and to the patriotic nationalists is interesting. Again and again he yielded to Jewish scruples, and then, as though in mockery, directly opposed their most precious customs. For example, he directed that the temple work should be carried on by priests, and priests only. He himself did not enter the inner temple. But when the central building of the temple was completed, he set a Roman eagle over the gateway, as if in insult to all who entered to worship there. His Greek court advisers and officials, his artistic building enterprises, and his actual fostering of Hellenistic worship within Judea constituted the principal Greek and foreign elements of his reign.

The tribute Herod exacted was a heavy burden to his subjects. All the glory of his reign had to be borne by the Jewish people. They endured it because there was no alternative. The Pharisees revolted in their inmost hearts against this oppression with all its heathen trappings. But Herod kept a strong hand upon the government. He had large forces of paid European troops to carry out his orders, to preserve the peace. The fortresses which he built with Jewish money he used for his own protection from his own people. Toward the end of his reign all private meetings and public gatherings were forbidden.

From an external point of view, however, his reign was useful and prosperous. The harbor which he built at Cæsarea was used for centuries as the chief port for Palestinean travel and commerce. The facility of travel in New Testament times was due in no small measure to Herod's achievements.

At times Herod was very good to his people. Once he reduced the taxes by one-third and later by one-fourth. Again during a famine he took even his own silverware and sold it to buy bread for the populace.

The position of a dependent king in the Roman Empire was not a mean one. He must have his title approved by the Roman Emperor. His successor, too, could be appointed only after Roman approval. The office was not hereditary, but after he had once become established such a potentate had all the authority of a king with his own people, to exercise the right of life and death, to impose taxes, to organize armies. Herod had also inherited from his father the right of Roman citizenship. Like the Apostle Paul, he was a Roman born (cf. Acts 22: 28).

Herod lost no opportunity to cultivate the favor of Augustus and to assert his loyalty. He visited Augustus at least seven times during his reign, probably oftener. Herod also established friendly relations with Agrippa. Agrippa (63–12 B.C.) was a Roman general and statesman, and a trusted counselor of Augustus. In 16 B.C. Agrippa visited Herod and was received by the Jews with great acclaim. Herod returned this visit, taking with him a fleet to assist Agrippa in an expedition to the Crimea. The meeting-place was the old Greek colony of Sinope on the Black Sea.¹

Herod's intimacy with Rome naturally brought him many gifts of territory. In 23 B.C., while Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons, were studying at Rome, the emperor presented to Herod the tracts of land between the Sea of Galilee and Damascus, namely Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis (Lk. 3:1). Other districts were given him from time to time. At one period of his reign the procurators of Syria were commanded to consult Herod in all their most important provincial decisions.

This period of Herod's reign is also of importance because of the great advantages which accrued to the Jews of the Dispersion during this time. Every case of injustice or discrimination was taken up by Herod. Their cause was championed in a way which meant much for the initial success and rapid expansion of the Christian Gospel through the synagogues of the Dispersion.

The Period of Domestic Troubles.—Herod's domestic troubles grew more aggravating as the end of his reign approached.

¹ Ancient Sinope, by David M. Robinson, p. 256, "Marcus Agrippa's warm greeting of Herod there and the departure of the two in 16 B.C. upon an expedition to the Simmerian Bosphorus." Also in American Journal of Philology, vol. xxvii, no. 2.

The two sons of Mariamme who were in the Asmonean line were the primary objects of his suspicion. These two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, realized that their royal blood gave them a greater claim to power than their Idumean father had. After 17 B.C., when they returned from Rome, where they had been sent for their education, they were perpetually slandered by Salome. To meet this situation Herod recalled his oldest son, Antipater, whom he had exiled, hoping that the fact that Antipater was the oldest of his sons would offset the ambitions inspired by the royal blood of the sons of Mariamme, and that, thus balanced, a domestic felicity would be established.

But Antipater proved rather to be the instigator of increasing family strife. He stirred up Pheroras and Salome, the brother and sister of Herod, to repeat their accusations that Alexander and Aristobulus were plotting to assassinate their father. A Greek named Eurykles added fresh fuel to the fire of domestic dissension by cleverly encouraging the antagonism between father and sons.

Finally, Herod's suspicion of Alexander and Aristobulus became almost a mania. He formally accused them of such plotting before the emperor and finally received permission to deal with them as he wished. In B.C. 7, at Sebaste, at the place of his marriage to Mariamme, her sons were executed.

These results of his intrigue were highly satisfactory to Antipater. For the moment he held the absolute confidence of his father. Not long after, however, with his uncle Pheroras he began to plot the death of the aged king. Salome reported the matter to Herod. Antipater hastily left on a visit to Rome. But when Pheroras died the whole plot became so obvious to Herod that he summoned Antipater home. Not knowing the extent of his father's discoveries, Antipater returned to Jerusalem and was immediately seized. Five days before his death Herod received the consent of Rome, and Antipater was executed.

Herod's last illness, a lingering painful disease, was now

fast overcoming him. He was seventy years old. He still put down vehemently and cruelly any revolt which arose because of rumors of his death. But even the Baths of Callirrhoe beyond the Jordan could not alleviate Herod's suffering. He saw that his end was near and imprisoned a large number of distinguished men, giving orders that as soon as he died they should be slain, that his death might not be without general public grief. This cruel order was fortunately not carried out, but it affords a striking parallel to the statement found in the Gospel of Matthew (2: 16) that he gave orders for the slaying of all infants in a certain area because he feared that one of them might become king of the Jews.

Herod's death in 4 B.C. was hailed as a blessing by all the people, even those of his own household. He was buried with great pomp. He had been a strange and terrible combination of Oriental despot and Roman citizen. In accordance with his last will, Archelaus, the son of Malthace, became king of Judea, Antipas her younger son became tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Philip, son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem became tetrarch of Trachonitis and neighboring districts.

The reign of Herod is especially important for the student of early Christianity because of its blending of Jewish and Hellenistic elements. Herod's reign more than any other made travel secure for Jews. His building of the harbor at Cæsarea opened up Palestine to the world and the world to Palestine. That was his Hellenistic contribution. Before his day Hellenism had made its home in Palestine, but Herod made Judaism feel at home in the Roman Empire.

The reign of Herod intensified the longing of the Jewish people for a leader and champion. The Maccabean champions had taken up the cause of the people. If Jesus of Nazareth had lived in the days of the Maccabees, he would have been found visiting with them frequently. But the Maccabean line was gone. Even Alexander and Aristobulus, who had some Jewish blood, had been executed in 7 B.C., probably the very year

in which Jesus was born. To whom should the people look? "Jesus' heart was touched at the sight of them because they were as sheep without a shepherd" (Mk. 6: 34; Matt. 9: 36).

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF JESUS (4 B.C. TO 44 A.D.)

'Archelaus. 4 B.C. to 6 A.D. Judea.—After the death of Herod, Archelaus was publicly acknowledged as king of Judea. Although he was not officially king until his title should be recognized by Augustus, he was at once besieged by petitions and demands for reforms in the government. He acceded to these demands so far as seemed practicable to him. He released many who had been imprisoned by Herod. He modified the system of taxation. But the Pharisees were not satisfied. They thought their opportunity had come for avenging themselves for all the wrongs they had suffered under Herod. At the Passover Feast Archelaus feared a serious revolt and "preserved the peace" by ordering his troops to attack the tumult of Jews. Three thousand of them were slain.

Archelaus had to make his pilgrimage to Rome for confirmation of his title (cf. Lk. 19: 12). While he was gone matters went wild in Palestine. Revolt increased and patriots grew bolder until at Pentecost the Jews took possession of the temple and barricaded themselves. They fought from the roofs of the outbuildings of the temple until the Roman soldiers in desperation set fire to the beautiful cedar beams. The misguided patriots died in the flames or were cut down by the soldiers. The temple treasure to the amount of four hundred talents (\$400,000) was seized by the Romans. Later two thousand Jews were publicly crucified by Varus, the Roman general.

At Rome a delegation of fifty Jews from Palestine, backed by the eight thousand Jews of the city of Rome, was endeavoring to prevent the nomination of Archelaus as king of Judea. But Augustus decided to place Archelaus over Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. Subsequently he was to have the title of king if he showed ability to handle the situation. At first he had the title of ethnarch.

Like his father, Archelaus was an enthusiast for building. He rebuilt a palace at Jericho. He beautified the palm groves surrounding that city. Near Phasaelis he built a town named after himself, Archelais. But all the evil traits of his father he possessed in increased measure. He played with the high-priesthood, removing one high priest and appointing another at his pleasure. He married the widow of Alexander, his half brother, in spite of all Jewish law and feeling against such a marriage. His reign was barbarous and despotic. The end came when the chiefs of the Jews made a plea to Augustus accusing Archelaus of incapacity and cruelty. Archelaus was summoned to Rome. In 6 A.D. he was condemned, his property was confiscated, and he was banished to Gaul. Rome at once began to organize Judea as a Roman province. Quirinius took a census of the people (cf. Luke 2: 2). Soon afterward Judea, Samaria, and Idumea were incorporated as a Roman province. Coponius was the first procurator.

The early procurators of Judea were not important and the records concerning their character and work are scanty. Pontius Pilate ruled from 26 to 36 A.D. Even of him we have very little information that is definite and reliable. The descriptions of his character as harsh and cruel and reckless are in large part due to his sanction of the crucifixion of Jesus the Galilean. He would not have remained governor for ten years under the able Emperor Tiberius had he not shown good governing ability. He approved the crucifixion of Jesus because he feared that the Galilean was another who aspired to be king of the Jews and who therefore might head still a fresh revolt against Roman authority.

Herod Antipas. 4 B.C. to 39 A.D. Galilee and Perea.—Herod Antipas received the Roman title of tetrarch, and in accord with Herod's will governed Galilee and Perea.

Galilee was peculiar in that its population was composed of

both Jews and Gentiles. During the days of Herod the Great a tide of Jewish colonization had swept in without driving out the Gentile elements, which had been there for centuries. In the time of Christ, Galilee was well inhabited. There were three walled cities and over two hundred villages. The Sea of Galilee was a center of busy life. The devotion of the Jewish population to the Scriptures and to the law was fervent and strong. The moral life was healthier than elsewhere. A large proportion of the people were fishermen and "husbandmen." They were a simple, loyal, sturdy folk, hoping against hope for the Messianic Kingdom, careful in the observance of the Sabbath and the feasts. On the other hand, they were in constant touch with Hellenistic civilization and had a broad view of life and the world. The trade routes between Egypt and countries to the north passed through their land. From the hilltop near Nazareth their eyes could delight in the snows of Hermon, and the lines of camels winding their way along the caravan routes between Damascus and Egypt, but they would rest also with a certain sense of refreshment upon two different glimpses of the blue Mediterranean in the west which hinted of the lands beyond the sea, even Rome and the ends of the world (see p. 100).

The other half of the domain of Herod Antipas was the district east of the Jordan River known as Perea. The word "Perea" means the country "beyond." It comprised the region between the Yarmuk and Arnon rivers. It was more Jewish than Philip's domain to the north. Antipas did not presume to put any image on the coins which he minted. Yet interspersed with the districts of Perea was the "region of the decapolis" (Matt. 4: 25; Mk. 5: 20, 7: 31). The decapolis was not really a region but a loose confederacy of "ten Greek cities" which were banded together for mutual protection. The ruins of these cities as they exist today show Greek architecture, Greek theaters, Greek art and life. These cities were a peculiar phenomenon in the midst of all the Judaism which surrounded them. They

were another hint of the interweaving of Jewish and Greek elements which was to take place in the expansion of Christianity.

Herod Antipas governed from 4 B.C. to 39 A.D., covering all the years of Jesus' youth and ministry. He was more like his father than were his brothers. He was fond of building and reconstructing. He rebuilt the city of Sepphoris, an important center in Galilee. Perhaps Joseph, possibly Jesus himself, worked on this reconstruction. His building extended also beyond Palestine to the islands of Cos and Delos. Most important for our study is his reconstruction of the village on the shore of the sea of Galilee, which he named Tiberias, after the emperor Tiberius who was ruling at that time. Luke refers to the emperor (Lk. 3: 1). The Gospel of John mentions the city (6: 23). The city became so important that the whole Lake or Sea of Galilee was called "The Sea of Tiberias" (John 6: 1, 21: 1). The city included a royal palace with costly ornaments, a Greek stadium, and a Jewish house of prayer. It is today the only city remaining on the lake. Its walls are still standing almost intact. Its massive fortifications still extend down into the water. Its streets were colonnaded. Antipas made it his capital city.

Like his father, Herod Antipas was a clever and cunning despot. He is called "king" by the Gospel of Mark, though Luke is careful to use his proper title of "tetrarch" (Lk. 3: I vs. Mk. 6: 22). Most of Jesus' life was spent under this ruler. Occasionally Jesus visited the domain of Philip or went up to Jerusalem. Jesus' characterization of Antipas is excellent. He was a "fox" (Lk. 13: 32). He went once with the Roman general Vitellius to treat with the king of Parthia. After the meeting with the king and the signing of the treaty, Herod dispatched a fast messenger to the emperor and was thus the first to report the good news. This brought him favor with the emperor. But the foxlike trick later made trouble for him.

In his dealings with the Jews Herod likewise showed this foxlike character. He counterbalanced his Hellenistic and Roman sympathies by outward acts of Jewish piety. He made

it a point to attend the feasts at Jerusalem. Thus it happened that Jesus met him face to face at a Passover (Lk. 23: 4-12). Herod recognized in Jesus a leader of a shepherdless people and Jesus recognized in Herod the despotic and self-seeking enemy of the gospel of brotherhood and service and shepherding care.

Also like his father, Antipas had serious domestic troubles. He fell in love with Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, while on a trip to Rome.¹ They were later married. It was this relationship which John the Baptist censured so severely. Herodias did not rest till she brought about the execution of John (Mk. 6: 14–29). Herod's first wife, daughter of the king of Arabia, went home to her father. Her father made an expedition against Herod. Vitellius, who was only waiting his chance to "get even" for the trick Herod had played him in the Parthian matter, betrayed Herod in such a way that he was defeated and the king of Arabia withdrew before Herod could gather his forces again.

Herodias was very ambitious for her husband, encouraging him finally to ask the emperor, Caligula, for the title of king. Agrippa seized the opportunity to accuse him before the emperor of planning a revolt. Caligula refused even a trial and banished Herod and his wife in 39 A.D. to Gaul, whither his brother Archelaus had gone over thirty years before.

Philip. 4 B.C. to 34 A.D. Trachonitis.—According to the will of Herod, Philip inherited the territory between the Yarmuk River and Damascus. It was often called Trachonitis after the name of one of its districts (cf. Lk. 3: 1).

Of the three brothers who inherited the domain of Herod, Philip was the most Hellenistic. He was not so aggressive as his father. He did not leave his territory, but contented himself with governing well. He sought the counsel of a few able friends and spent his time traveling through his domain dispensing justice. He built the city of Cæsarea at one of the sources

¹ See Foakes-Jackson, Beginnings of Christianity, vol. i, p. 16.

of the Jordan and made it a place of refuge. It was called Cæsarea of Philip, or Cæsarea Philippi (Mk. 8: 27). It was quite natural that Jesus should take refuge there in time of persecution when he desired time to rest and think out his future action. Philip's Hellenistic tendency is further evidenced by his coins, which bear his image. This practice is almost unparalleled among the Jews who had a deep-rooted aversion to making images even on coins. After a long and peaceful and beneficial reign Philip died in 34 A.D. His district was at first annexed to Syria and then three years later (37 A.D.) presented to Herod Agrippa I.

Herod Agrippa I (37 to 44 A.D.).—The next great leader in Jewish politics is one who unites these various districts under one head again. To outward appearances the kingdom of Herod the Great was reëstablished. Agrippa I was son of Aristobulus and so grandson of Herod the Great and of the Maccabean princess, Mariamme. He was named after the Roman statesman, Agrippa, the friend of Herod the Great. He lived in Rome until the age of forty. Having used up all his fortune, he could find no further favor at court and was obliged to leave the imperial city.

When he came to Palestine he was in still greater despair and want. Finally his wife appealed to his sister Herodias, the wife of Antipas, and obtained for Agrippa a position under Antipas in Tiberias. But Agrippa soon quarreled with his uncle Antipas and became again a wanderer. In Damascus he was detected receiving bribes and was forced to leave that place. He succeeded in borrowing some money and started for Rome once more.

In Rome with the remainder of his borrowed money he gained the friendship of Caius, who afterward became the Emperor Caligula. He was arrested, however, on a charge of having uttered a wish that the reigning emperor Tiberius would die in order that Caius might succeed to the power. He remained in prison until the death of Tiberius. Naturally, as soon as Tiberius died and Caius (37–41 A.D.) became emperor, he

released Agrippa and rewarded him. Agrippa was appointed king of Trachonitis in 37 A.D. and on the banishment of Antipas in 39 A.D. he was given the districts of Galilee and Perea.

Agrippa was naturally inclined to favor his people, the Jews. He rendered them many valuable services. When the Emperor Caligula commanded his statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem (Mk. 13: 14) Agrippa averted revolt and bloodshed by personally inducing Caligula to change the order.

Like Herod the Great, Agrippa was able to win favor with successive emperors. When Claudius became emperor in 41 A.D. he conferred upon Agrippa various districts of Palestine, including Judea, until the kingdom of Agrippa became as extensive as the domain of Herod the Great. He was also given the right to appoint the high priest at Jerusalem.

Judaism awoke to new life for the few brief years from 41 to 44 A.D. Agrippa kept the enactments of the Pharisees. He resided in Jerusalem, kept his temple obligations, was careful and considerate in the appointment of a high priest, and in general respected Jewish feeling. He minted Jewish coins which did not bear any image. His zeal for Judaism is shown in his arrest of James and Peter and in putting James to death as narrated in Acts 12: 2.

Like his grandfather, he was fond of Greek customs and institutions, of the theater and the amphitheater, of public baths and colonnaded streets. At one of the celebrations of the Greek games in Cæsarea in the year 44 A.D., he had made an oration, and the people in applause had shouted, "The voice of a god," when he was smitten by a sudden attack of some unknown disease and died soon afterward (Acts 12: 19-23).

Claudius, the emperor, decided that the son of Agrippa was too young to succeed his father, for Agrippa II was a boy of but seventeen years. The Judean state was placed under a Roman procurator. In 50 A.D. Claudius gave the young Agrippa the general superintendence of the temple and the right to appoint the high priest. In a later year (53 A.D.) Agrippa re-

ceived the tetrarchy of Philip and still later other districts around the sea of Galilee.

In 58 A.D. Agrippa was making his conventional visit to the newly arrived procurator, Festus, in Cæsarea, when this governor asked his advice about Paul. This gave Paul his opportunity to make his defense before Agrippa: "I consider myself happy, King Agrippa . . . because you are expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews. . . And Agrippa said to Paul, With a few persuasive words you would like to make me a Christian" (Acts 26:2, 3, 28).

Agrippa gradually lost sympathy with the Jews and retired into his northern districts, where he ruled until 100 A.D., long years after the Jewish state had been annihilated by Rome.

THE END OF THE JEWISH STATE (44-70 A.D.)

Increasing Discontent under the Roman Governors.—It is no mere accident that the final fall of Jerusalem coincides with the period of the most rapid expansion of Christian evangelism. Jerusalem would long have been regarded as the head of the Christian Church had it not been for the annihilation of the Jewish state. When Jerusalem was no more, Gentile converts took Christianity into their own hands and freed it quickly of many of its national characteristics. Christians are able to look upon the terrible end of Judea as a providential event. But for the Jews it marked the extinction of the last hope of national independence. For centuries the chosen people of God had hoped and struggled for political power. After the destruction of their temple the Jews devoted themselves no longer to warfare and bloodshed but to the study of their sacred Law.

After the death of Agrippa I in 44 A.D. the character of the procurators of Judea speedily degenerated. Judaism became more and more restless, until matters came to such a pass that almost anyone who claimed to be Messiah could get an immediate following. The Jews were ready to accept any leader who promised any hope of even temporary relief. One named Theu-

das promised to lead his followers across the Jordan on dry land and was able to gather a band of about 400 about him. His popularity grew so suddenly that Fadus, the procurator (44–46 A.D.), attacked the zealots with his soldiers. He seized Theudas and slew him "and all as many as obeyed him were dispersed and came to nought" (Acts 5: 36; Josephus, Antiquities, XX, 5: 1).

The Book of Acts is apparently following Josephus in relating this uprising of Theudas; for Josephus in his next paragraph relates the uprising of Judas of Galilee, which he says had taken place in the days of enrollment under Quirinius (6–7 A.D.). The account in Acts, while following the order of names in Josephus, has in so doing inverted the chronological order of these names.

The next procurator, Alexander (46–48 A.D.), was also compelled to deal with a similar revolt and crucified the two sons of the Judas of Galilee who had started the revolution under Quirinius. Cumanus (48–52 A.D.) also found it necessary to perpetrate a massacre of the Jews in a Passover riot. Under Cumanus matters grew rapidly worse, until he was banished through the influence of Agrippa II. After him came Felix, 52 to 58 A.D. (Acts 23: 24 to 25: 14).

In these last years of the Jewish state, the end became ever more apparent. All sorts of men arose who made extravagant promises concerning the wonderful deeds which they would accomplish because of their divine mission and character. Felix found it necessary to take stringent measures with these "messiahs." One whom men did not soon forget became known as "the Egyptian." When Paul was in Jerusalem amid the mob, he was asked: "Are you not then the Egyptian, who before these days stirred up to sedition and led out into the wilderness the four thousand men of the Assassins?" (Acts 21: 38).

Doubtless we have here the explanation of the term "robbers" or "bandits" of which Josephus speaks so much. They were evidently leaders of smaller or larger bands of patriotic Jews looking for a deliverance from the hand of the Romans and from the encroaching Hellenistic spirit. One leader, Eleazar, resisted and avoided capture through twenty years. In vain did Felix crucify or send to Rome those upon whom he could lay hands. Such bands of misguided patriots roamed up and down the country fomenting rebellion.

One particularly formidable feature was the presence of bands of desperate men who carried daggers. They were called "Sicarii," the "dagger" men. At one time they murdered the high priest and in general spread terror in the land. The hand of Felix was too nervous to deal with the situation; at times he was too negligent, at times he was too cruel. It was a band of these Sicarii which almost succeeded in slaying the Apostle Paul, who was saved only by the quick action of his sister's son (Acts 23: 12-16).

The Emperor Nero finally called for Felix's resignation. It is an empty and perhaps ironical compliment which Tertullus addressed to Felix: "Seeing that by you we enjoy much peace, and that by your providence evils are corrected for this nation, we accept it in all ways and in all places, most excellent Felix, with all thankfulness" (Acts 24: 2b, 3).

The Last Governors of Judea.—After the regime of Felix came the governorship of Festus (58 to 62 a.d.). Festus had the same problem which Felix faced. He would, perhaps, have improved the situation to some extent had his death not occurred so inopportunely. Josephus records that Festus also had to deal with the Sicarii: "And then it was that the Sicarii grew numerous . . . they mingled themselves among the multitude at the festivals, when the people were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, and easily slew that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies with their weapons, and plundered them and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries that they were under, if they would follow

him as far as the wilderness" (Josephus, Antiquities, XX, 8: 10).

After the death of Festus, Judea was without a governor for some months. Before Albinus (62–64 A.D.) arrived the country fell into great confusion. The high priest, Ananus, took it upon himself to deal with the situation, a task which was far beyond his power. He seized all who were considered to be religious fanatics, assembled the Sanhedrin, and secured sentences of death by stoning. The peace-loving people strongly resented this and formally requested King Agrippa to put a stop to such proceedings. King Agrippa II, to whom had been given the authority over the high-priesthood, deposed Ananus.

Among those whom Ananus had seized and condemned was James, the brother of Jesus. "He assembled the Sanhedrin of judges and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others. And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned" (Josephus, Antiquities, XX, 9:1). This is the only passage in which Josephus mentions Jesus. Another passage sometimes cited is by most scholars considered not genuine.

The removal of Ananus from the high-priesthood only made matters worse. The Sicarii grew constantly bolder. They made a practice of kidnapping and subsequently exchanging their victims for those of their own number who had been imprisoned. The high-priesthood became a prize for which rival candidates fought. Albinus did not help matters. He soon realized his inability to deal with the problem. When he saw that his recall was imminent, he accepted bribes and sold freedom to prisoners in wholesale fashion.¹

In the year 64 the temple was completed. In the time of Jesus this temple had been "forty and six years in building" (John 2: 20). Through all the long period of years from 20 B.C. to 64 A.D. a large force of workmen had been busy on the various

¹ Compare the statement about Felix in Acts 24: 26.

buildings of the great temple. "Now," says Josephus, "over eighteen thousand workmen were suddenly thrown out of work and were in want" (Antiquities, XX, 9: 7). This unemployment, of course, added greatly to the general disturbance. In order to improve the situation, Agrippa allowed the use of the temple treasure itself for the hiring of men to pave great portions of the city with white stones.

The end was rapidly approaching. One more Roman procurator was sent to Judea. His record is a bad one. Florus (64-66 A.D.) was so little in sympathy with Jewish traditions, and so unsympathetic of any interests but his own selfish ends, that he soon precipitated open rebellion. It is probable that he himself fomented trouble in order to cover up his own evil doings. However, the situation was really created, not so much by the selfish Roman officials, as by the general attitude of those Jews who thought that conspiracy and battle and bloodshed were instruments in bringing in a new kingdom where God should rule supreme! Tesus had clearly foreseen these times. "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt. 26: 52). "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and men of violence take it by force" (Matt. 11: 12). "There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down" (Matt. 24: 2). "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up" (John 2:19).

The Jewish Uprising.—The immediate cause of the end was trivial, almost insignificant. Its significance lay only in the fact that crystallization, when once it had begun, proceeded quickly and thoroughly. A petty conflict arose in Cæsarea over certain building rights on the approach to the synagogue. Josephus aptly says, "The occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us" (Wars II, 14: 4). The conflict soon developed into a race war between Hellenists and Jews. The Hellenists made sport of the Jewish scruples and ceremonies. The Jews appealed to Florus. Florus replied by going to Jerusalem and taking a good

piece of the temple treasure and by allowing his troops to rob and kill almost without restraint.

Agrippa II intervened and tried to make peace by persuading the Jews to make a proper complaint to the emperor. But feeling had run too high. Conspiracy and bloodshed became rapidly more widespread. The success of the Sicarii in seizing the impregnable rock fortress, Masada, and the success of other bands in seizing the lower or eastern part of the city of Jerusalem and the temple area, added greatly to the fury of the outbreak. The aristocratic people of Jerusalem were penned up in the upper city. The lower classes felt that their time for revenge was at hand. Their grievances, which they had harbored for so long, overcame them. Agrippa's beautiful palace and the palace of the high priest were burned. The public depositories for the keeping of deeds and bonds were destroyed with the hope that there might be a return of the old historical Year of Jubilee in which all legal obligations were canceled.

Manahem, a son of Judas the Galilean (Acts 5: 37, see p. 67) gathered about him a company of strong men of Galilee, distributed arms to his people, and went up to Jerusalem as messiah. The Zealots, who were not in sympathy with such a king, finally overwhelmed his followers and seized him and slew him.

The priests at Jerusalem omitted the customary sacrifice for the emperor. This was an act of open revolt. If there had been any doubt as to the character of the uprising, it was removed when the Roman garrison at Jerusalem, after surrender, was slaughtered. All Syria was aroused and confused. In most of the Greek cities, either the Jews plundered the homes of the Hellenists or were themselves massacred. Cestius Gallus, legate of Syria, made a determined effort to restore peace by means of his Roman troops. At first he was successful, but before long he was caught in the narrow defiles near Bethhoron. His army was destroyed and he escaped with only a few followers to Antioch. The Jews confiscated the Roman weapons and other war supplies, so there was much rejoicing and encouragement.

The revolt had now become so serious that the Jews for a while forgot their own civil strifes. The Sanhedrin undertook to organize the fanatical followers of this or that messiah into a political force which should be capable of resisting the inevitable approach of Roman military power. Josephus, the great historian to whom we owe most of our knowledge of the period, was appointed to organize Galilee, which was sure to bear the first brunt of the Roman attack. The story of his clever and skillful maneuvers is indeed romantic. He escaped many dangers and intrigues and lived to hand down to coming generations his twenty books of Antiquities of the Jews, the story of his own life, and the six books describing these last years of the "Jewish Wars." When he was captured by Vespasian, he prophesied so vividly the victory of the Roman arms and the honors which Vespasian himself should receive, that he was well treated by that Roman general and future emperor.

Vespasian easily subdued Galilee during the summer of 67. The next summer he was fast subjugating Judea when the news of the death of Nero reached him. He at once suspended operations, giving the Jews a chance to renew their civil strifes. The subjugation of Galilee caused the lower classes to lose faith in the organization which the upper classes and the Sanhedrin had effected.

Destruction of Jerusalem.—In Jerusalem the Zealots were led by Eleazar. After the fall of Gischala in Galilee, John of Gischala escaped to Jerusalem, thus adding a second party of Zealots. The upper classes were organized by Ananus. The opposing factions, forgetful of the impending danger from Rome, engaged in a deadly civil war. The Zealots were soon forced to take refuge in the temple area. Only the sacredness of the temple saved them from being exterminated. Meanwhile under John, in their despair, they conspired with a company of Idumeans and succeeded in admitting them to the city. The Idumeans began to assassinate and plunder without restraint. They killed Ananus and other leaders. When they had had their fill, they again withdrew and John of Gischala held the city.

A Jew named Simon ben-Giora began to plunder and overrun the country to the east of the Jordan and to the south of
Jerusalem. After he had made himself master of Hebron, the
Anti-Zealot party in Jerusalem invited him to come to their aid.
The condition of Jerusalem became pitiable. There were evidently three opposing factions: the Zealots under John of
Gischala, the dissatisfied Zealots under Eleazar, the moderate
party now aided by Simon ben-Giora and his savage band. The
miserable common people of the city ought not to be forgotten.
Among them had been hundreds of those who accepted as their
leader one who had foreseen these events and had said, "Let
them that are in Judea flee to the mountains" (Mk. 13: 14).
They had left Jerusalem because they believed that the true
kingdom was not a kingdom of war and strife, but of peace and
brotherly helpfulness.

John of Gischala held the temple area; Eleazar was shut up in the inner temple; Simon held the upper city. The civil slaughter continued through the year 69 and into the year 70. At the Passover of 70, when the Roman general Titus had just camped before the city, John of Gischala succeeded in assassinating Eleazar. Then, at last, the factions saw the danger from without. John of Gischala and Simon, in the face of death and destruction, coöperated in the opposition to Rome.

Titus found the siege of Jerusalem no easy task. Three sides of the city were protected by precipitous slopes. Only on the north side was it possible to approach the walls. Even here the number of the walls and fortresses made the city practically impregnable. The ruthless destruction of food which had taken place in the civil conflicts was largely responsible for the final capture. From the Passover in the spring until the fall, the Roman legions fought without respite. The Passover pilgrims could not be fed and were expelled from the city, only to be seized and in many cases crucified by the Roman forces. Five months the siege lasted. The first or outer wall, which had been hastily constructed, was taken in a few days. In July, four months after the arrival of the Roman army, Antonia was taken,

leaving only one wall between the Romans and the temple courts. Josephus vividly describes the awful suffering, the famine, the civil war, and the unburied dead.

On July 17th in the year 70 the temple sacrifices ceased because there were no animals to be offered and no priests to make the offering. The temple worship, a continuum reaching back into the hoary past, was at last interrupted. It was never again resumed. The end of Jewish national life had come. Neither "in this mountain nor in Jerusalem" did the temple worship take place. It was but a few days until the Romans battered down the wall of the temple area itself. A Roman soldier viciously set fire to the temple buildings. The inhabitants were immediately captured and put to death.

Only one section of the city remained. Simon and John had retreated to the upper city. In September this, too, was taken. Those of the inhabitants who were not killed on the spot were sold into slavery or taken to Rome for the gladiatorial shows. John of Gischala became a life prisoner; Simon marched at Rome in the triumphal procession and was then slain. The site of Jerusalem was thoroughly devastated. Only the hill remained. There would always be some dwellers on the roomy heights, but Jerusalem was gone.

O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! killing the prophets and stoning them that are sent unto her, how often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings. Your house is left unto you desolate (Matt. 23: 37, 38; Lk. 13: 34, 35). If you had known the things which belong to peace! But they are hid from your eyes. For the days shall come upon you when your enemies shall cast up a bank about you and compass you around and keep you in on every side and shall dash you to the ground, and your children within you, and they shall not leave in you one stone upon another (Lk. 19: 42-44).

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

FAIRWEATHER, Background of the Gospels, pp. 181-215. FOAKES JACKSON and LAKE, Beginnings of Christianity, pp. 1-34. FOWLER, The History and Literature of the New Testament, pp. 13-49. Kent, Biblical Geography and History, pp. 232-246.

Mathews, History of New Testament Times, pp. 108-156, 206-224.

Schurer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, Div. I, Vol. I, pp. 416-467; Vol. II, pp. 1-43; 150-191; 207-256.

Chapter V

RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

THE religion of Jesus was an expression and declaration of the love of God in the face of this utterly discouraging political situation. His religion becomes clearer after a study of some of the various ways in which the Jews endeavored to preserve their conviction that God would some day bless their nation.

LEGALISM

The Jewish people were particularly characterized by their reverence for their sacred scriptures. These scriptures were not all regarded alike. The first five books of what modern Christians call the Old Testament composed the most sacred portion. These five contained the Torah, or Law, which prescribed for the follower of Jehovah just how he should live. The second class of scripture was called the Prophets. The books of the Prophets were held in high respect, but they were not shown the same reverence which was accorded to the Torah. A third class of "writings" was not held to be authoritative in any severe sense of the word. The book of Psalms is an example of these writings. The Psalms were on the same general plane as a church hymn book of our modern day.

The reverence of the Jews toward the Law of their God had been growing through many centuries. When the Jewish nation was successful in war or other enterprise, the Jews felt that their success was due to their careful observance of their religious Law. When disaster came, or when they were unfortunate in any undertaking, they felt that it was because of their carelessness in or ignorance of the proper observance of the Law.

The Law thus grew in authority year by year and century

by century until it became the center of the life of the nation. In the time of Jesus the Law was being interpreted word by word in an ever more precise and literalistic manner. The loyal Jew tried to win God's favor by an exact observance of every word of Law. This was leading to a legal view of the relation between God and His children. God was being regarded as a judge. Life was considered more and more as a time of probation. The rewards or punishments of life were postponed to the future. This idea that God makes certain requirements and that he rewards or punishes in accordance with one's actions, is not in itself a degrading or harmful conception. On the contrary, it was the basis of much high and noble conduct on the part of Jews, individually and nationally.

But a difficulty arose in connection with this attitude. If God rewards exactly in proportion to the way in which a man keeps the individual statutes of the Law, then it becomes necessary to define accurately what constitutes a transgression and what does not. To this task of interpreting and explaining the Law, the Jewish scribes gave themselves with remarkable results.

The commandment in regard to keeping the Sabbath Day was interpreted at great length, as were the other commandments. Just what may a man do on the Sabbath, and what may he not do? How far may anyone walk on the Sabbath Day without becoming guilty of breaking the commandment. The phrase "A Sabbath Day's journey" became so common an expression that it was used as a designation of distance. In Acts 1: 12 is the statement that the Mount of Olives is a Sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem.

In an attempt to discover how far it is permissible to go on the Sabbath, the scribes, searching their scriptures, found that, according to Joshua 3: 4, the ark of the Israelites went ahead of the Children of Israel in the wilderness at a distance of 2,000 cubits (3,000 feet). This would indicate that it was permissible on the Sabbath to go this distance for worship and return. There was considerable pressure put upon the scribes in the time of Jesus, to extend this distance, if possible. The scribes, there-

fore, proceeded to explain that where a man has food for two meals, there is his legal abiding place for the Sabbath. In case a man wishes to double the Sabbath-day limit, he needs only to go out before the Sabbath and place food at a halfway point. He may then, on the Sabbath, go from his home a distance of 2,000 cubits to the spot where he has placed food sufficient for two meals (cf. Ex. 16: 29), which is his legal abiding-place, and then he may go from that point another 2,000 cubits (Mishna, Treatise "Erubin," IV, 5, 7, 8).

Many of the explanations of the Jewish Law are so detailed that they seem impossible as a practical standard for living. Nevertheless, if anyone is to understand the teaching of Jesus, with its good news of the fatherhood of God and the supremacy of love, he should read at some length in the Talmud, or Commentary, of the Jews.

The volume of this Talmud which has to do particularly with the Commandments is called the Mishna. In the Mishna are a large number of treatises. One of these is called "Sabbath" and has to do with the Commandment, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." The Mishna was not reduced to writing until the second century, but it represents to a considerable extent the temper of the oral teaching of the Scribes in the time of Jesus.

Chapter I of the treatise "Sabbath" has to do with cooking and similar activities. Chapter II takes up the question of lighting or extinguishing lamps upon the Sabbath: 1

With what kind of wick may lamps be lighted on the Sabbath? They may not be lighted with the moss that grows on cedars, or with undressed flax.... Anything which grows from the wood of a tree is right to use to light with, except flax....

A person may not make a hole in an eggshell and fill it with oil and hold

¹The citations in this chapter are selected and adapted from DeSola and Raphall, *The Mishna*. A more elaborate edition recommended to the student interested in pursuing the subject further is the translation of the Talmud by Rodkinson. The German edition now in process of publication is excellent: *Die Mischna*. Traktat, "Schabbat," by Wilhelm Nowack, published by Töpelmann in Giessen, 1924.

it over a lamp in order that the oil may drop into the lamp, even if the eggshell be of pottery. But if the potter had originally joined it with the lamp, it is permissible, because they are then one vessel. A man may not fill a dish with oil and put it beside the lamp and then put the end of the wick into it so that it may draw the oil; but Rabbi Jehudah permits this.

One who puts out a lamp because he is afraid of robbers or of an evil spirit, or in order that a sick person may sleep, is not guilty; but if he puts it out to save the lamp or to save oil or wick, he is guilty.

Chapter III deals again with the question of cooking:

Cooked food may be cooked before the Sabbath (which begins at sunset) and kept on a stove, if the stove is heated with stubble or brush. If it is heated with wood, the food must not be put on it until the fire is cleaned out or covered with ashes. (The idea is that the stove heated by wood retains its heat long enough to perform the actual work of cooking, which is not permissible on the Sabbath.) The School of Shammai state that warm water, but not cooked food, may be placed on a stove heated with wood; the School of Hillel state that both warm water and cooked food may be placed on the stove. The School of Shammai hold that you may take anything off the stove, but you must not put back anything which you have taken off; the School of Hillel hold that food may also be put back on the stove.

An egg must not be put beside a hot kettle on the Sabbath, that it may be prepared for eating; it must not be wrapped in hot cloths; nor may it be put into hot sand or dust that it may be cooked.

At one time the people of Tiberias carried a pipe of cold water through a stream of their hot spring. But the Rabbis explained to them that this water, like any other heated on the Sabbath day, is not permissible for their washing or drinking; that on festival days this water is prohibited to use for washing, but permitted for drinking.

A man may not pour cold water into a kettle of hot water which has been removed from the fire, in order to make the cold water warm. But he may pour cold water into a kettle of hot water in order to cool the latter. . . .

It is against the Law to place a dish under a lamp to catch the oil that drops. But if it has been placed there before sunset, it is permissible to let it remain; but the oil caught in it must not be used.... A dish may be placed under a lamp to catch the sparks, but no water may be put in it, as water extinguishes.

Chapter IV deals with the question of the kind of a load that may be carried on the Sabbath without breaking the Commandment.

What may a woman carry on her person when she goes out? A woman may not go out . . . with a frontlet and pendants unless sewn to her cap. . . .

A woman may not go out with a needle that has an eye, nor with a finger ring which has a seal on it, nor with a smelling-bottle or balm-flask. A man must not go out with a sword or a bow or a shield.

A woman may go out with plaits of hair, whether her own or of another woman, or of an animal; with frontlet and pendants if they are sewn to her cap; with a false tooth or a gilt tooth.

Women may go out with a coin fastened on a swelling in the feet. Arabian women may go out with their large veils.

A woman may fold up a stone, or a coin, in her dress provided she does not do it especially on the Sabbath.

The cripple may go out with his wooden leg. But if the wooden leg has a hollow receptacle, it is unclean. . . .

The chair and crutches of an invalid may become unclean; he may not go out with them on the Sabbath.

It is permissible to carry the egg of a grasshopper or the tooth of a fox or the nail of one who has been hanged, as medical remedies.

Chapter XII deals with the question of occupation on the Sabbath.

How much must a man build to become guilty? Whoever builds anything, whoever chops a stone, strikes with a hammer or uses a plane or bores a hole, is guilty.

Whoever ploughs at all, or weeds, or clears away branches, is guilty. Whoever gathers wood, if it is to clear the ground, is guilty. . . .

Whoever writes two letters, whether with his right hand or with his left, whether he writes one letter twice or two different letters, or with different inks, in any language, is guilty.

Whoever writes two letters on two separate occasions one in the morning and one in the afternoon, is guilty.

Chapter XIII has some interesting specifications in regard to catching a wild animal.

Whoever hunts a bird into a cage, or a deer into a house, is guilty. The rule is that when the capture is not complete, the man is not guilty; but when the capture is complete, he is guilty.

If a stag enter a house (or a yard) and one man shuts him in, he is guilty; if two men shut him in, they are not guilty.

If one man puts himself in the gateway to prevent the deer from escaping, but does not fill the gateway, and the second man places himself next and does fill it, the second man is guilty. If the first one places himself in the entrance and fills it and the second person places himself at his side, even if the first person should then get up and go away, leaving the second in the gateway, the first is guilty and the second is not.

Chapter XV lists and describes the kinds of knots which may be tied on the Sabbath, and those which may not be tied.

These knots make a person guilty: The camel-drivers' knot, and the boatmen's knot. As a man becomes guilty by tying them, so also he becomes guilty by untying them. Rabbi Meir says "A knot which a man can untie with one hand only does not render him guilty."

There are knots which do not render guilty: A woman may tie her cap ribbons and her sandal-laces, also skins of oil and pots of meat. Rabbi Jehudah stated the rule thus: "Any knot which is not intended to be lasting does not render guilty."

Chapter XXI affirms:

A man may lift his child with a stone in its hand.

If a stone is lying on the spout of a cask, a man may tip the cask to one side so that the stone will fall off. If there be money or coins on a pillow or bolster, it may be turned so that the coins will fall off.

Men may carry away from the table pieces of food less than the size of an olive, also the husks of beans as food for cattle.

In Chapter XXII we find:

If a barrel or cask breaks, enough may be saved to serve three meals. The owner may also invite others to save for themselves. Men must not squeeze fruits so as to extract the juice; and if the juice oozes out of itself, it is not permissible to use it.

In Chapter XXIV we read:

A man who is overtaken by sunset while on the road must give his pack to a gentile to carry. If there is no gentile, with him, he must put it on his donkey. As soon as he arrives at the first house or the first village, he shall take off such things as may be removed on the Sabbath; and as to the things which may not be removed, he loosens the ropes, that they may drop off of themselves.

"Alas for you Pharisees who clean the outside of the cup and the plate while inside you are full of greed and evil. Clean first the inside and the outside will take care of itself" (Lk. 11: 39, 40; Matt. 23: 25, 26).

"Alas for you Pharisees who tithe mint and rue and every little herb, and yet neglect justice and kindness. These are the things you ought to do without neglecting those lesser things" (Lk. 11: 42; Matt. 23: 23).

"You strain out the gnat and swallow the camel" (Matt. 23: 24).

THE MESSIANIC HOPE

Thy people shall be all righteous; they shall inherit the land forever. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land (Isa. 60: 18, 21).

Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake (Dan. 12: 2).

Who do people say that the son of man is? Some say John the Baptist, others Elijah, others Jeremiah or one of the prophets (Matt. 16: 14).

Then came some Sadducees who did not believe that there is a resurrection (Mk. 12: 18).

And the rich man also died and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torment, and saw Abraham at a distance, and Lazarus in his bosom (Lk. 16: 22, 23).

It is better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than with two eyes to be cast into hell where the worm does not die and the fire never goes out (Mk. 9: 48).

The Hope of Better Days.—The differing ideas of the Jews regarding the kingdom of God will be reviewed in a later chapter on Jesus' teaching regarding the Kingdom. In the present introductory statement only the general background is given.

The Messianic Hope had a fairly natural origin and growth among the Jews. Every nation has its forward look to a time when a greater degree of justice will be established, when present evils will be remedied and prosperity will bring happiness. When the Hebrews were delivered out of slavery in Egypt they went forth with high hopes. They soon found themselves in a trackless desert, with barely enough to eat, but their leaders encouraged them with visions of a land flowing with milk and honey. When they finally caught a first glimpse of Palestine, it did indeed present a pleasant contrast to the desolateness of the wilderness.

As the Hebrews entered the promised land and conquered the districts on the mountain ridge which forms the backbone of the country, they felt that Jehovah's goodness was beyond all expectation or expression. Then came years of hard reality, which showed them gradually that this mountainous country was not as fertile as they had hoped it might be. Furthermore, their princes and leaders were often found to be unjust and selfish.

But the Jews did not give up their hopes. Prophets arose who told them that so surely as they kept the law of Jehovah, and did his will, they as a nation would some day receive great blessings from him. Thus with increasing definiteness the Jews visualized a future kingdom. Their hope was sometimes bound up with the idea of a special leader or king or messiah, whose courage and strength would usher in a better day. The term "messiah" means "anointed one." Anointing was a part of the ceremony of crowning a king. The term etymologically means little more than king, but was usually reserved in Jewish usage of Jesus' day for that future king who would inaugurate national prosperity.

Often there was no particular thought of such a leader, however. In Jesus' day, many of the Jews who were expecting the Kingdom, had no definite ideas of a special messiah, but thought of Jehovah as himself dispensing the blessings. Again, some expected a prophet like Elijah, who would announce the day. Many thought that Jesus was such a prophet, or that he was Elijah come back to life (Matt. 16: 14, cf. John 1: 21). Generally speaking, all Jews expected the future era of prosperity, but the ideas as to whether the era would be brought about by a messianic leader and what sort of a man such a leader would be, were widely different.

The Resurrection.—The greatest personal problem which arose in connection with the expectation of the Kingdom was presented by the fact that men who were loyal to Jehovah, perhaps giving their lives in battle to protect the worship of the

temple, died without having shared in any of the blessings which Jehovah had in store for the Jews. Very naturally there came the thought of a resurrection of the righteous to enjoy the kingdom. Those who had died would arise from their graves (Dan. 12: 2; Mk. 12: 18, 23; Lk. 14: 14).

Naturally too, the question arose as to a possible resurrection of the wicked for punishment. Again the Jews followed the natural logic of their thought. The wicked should not arise at the coming of the kingdom to share in its blessings, but should arise at a later time, in a second resurrection, when the punishment which was due them would be administered (Rev. 20: 5). The Jewish thought was somewhat indefinite in regard to this remote future. But the expectation of a future kingdom and the resurrection of the righteous was very definite and clear.

The Messianic Age.—The messianic age was conceived in many different ways, according to the character and ideals of different groups of the Jews. The earliest and simplest idea was that all who were blood descendants of Abraham would inherit the kingdom, which would consist of physical and material benefits. Old Testament prophets, however, emphasized the need of perfect ethical and religious harmony between the people and their God. Unfaithful Jews would be the first object of God's wrath when he should inaugurate the new dispensation.

In Jesus' day there had been a marked development of the ethical and spiritual ideas of the kingdom. Only men of upright character should have a share; in fact, any imperfections of character would be removed. Holiness was conceived as one of the blessings to be bestowed in the new kingdom. Furthermore, noble personal qualities and the ideal of brotherhood were placed above food and land and other material blessings.

The Psalms of Solomon contain some lines which beautifully express this higher Judaism of the time of Jesus. Right-eousness, virtue, and purity are emphasized in a way which comes very close to the religion of Jesus:

There shall be no iniquity among them in his days; For all shall be holy and their king is the Master.

He shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow; Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war; Nor by ships shall he gather confidence for the day of battle. . . .

He shall have mercy upon all nations that come to him in fear.

He himself also is pure from sin. . . .

He shall tend the flocks of the Lord with faith and righteousness; and he shall suffer none to faint in their pasture (Ps. of Solomon, 17).

The Life after Death.—Because of this emphasis on the messianic age, and this dominating interest in the kingdom to be established on earth in the near future, the Jews showed very little concern in any life immediately after death. Between the time of a man's death and the great resurrection at the inauguration of the kingdom, the individual soul was supposed to do very little more than wait. There were no very clear ideas of a reward or judgment before the resurrection. All souls, both good and bad, were supposed at death to go to Hades, or Sheol. The New Testament being in the Greek language, uses the Greek word "Hades," while the Old Testament uses the corresponding Hebrew term "Sheol."

Hades or Sheol was sometimes pictured as having different sections for the good and the bad. In the story of the rich man and Lazarus, both are described after their deaths as existing in Hades, the rich man in a place of considerable discomfort, and Lazarus with Abraham some distance away (Lk. 16: 22). The location of Hades was usually conceived to be somewhere below the surface of the earth. In the story of Virgil's "Æneid" the visit of Æneas to Hades is described at great length. And a significant incident in the legend of Orpheus and Eurydice is the journey which Orpheus made down the long trail that leads from the surface of the earth to the lower regions.

The section of Hades where the unjust and selfish were congregated was as hot and humid as the tenement district of a congested city in midsummer. The locality where the righteous were gathered, awaiting the resurrection, was more like a large and shady park. The Greek word for park is "paradise" (Lk.

23:43). The Hebrew equivalent of the Greek "paradise" is "Abraham's bosom" (Lk. 16:22).

The word "hell" is somewhat rare in the Jewish literature of the time. Where it does occur (Mk. 9:48; Matt. 5:29, 23: 33), it is a translation of the word "Gehenna," which comes from a Hebrew term meaning the "Valley of Hinnom." Jerusalem is located upon a rocky prominence, formed by the junction of two streams. On the east side of Jerusalem is the brook Kidron. On the west side of Jerusalem is the Hinnom. The east slope was beautified; just across the Kidron was the Mount of Olives. The western valley was used as a dump for the rubbish of the city. When a Jew of Jerusalem spoke of "hell" he could point with his finger to the spot. In vivid terms of the day he could tell of judgment when Jehovah would set up his throne in Jerusalem; he could picture the alternative of being admitted to the city and to the new kingdom, or of being expelled and thrown out like rubbish into the valley of the Hinnom. This dump heap, like any other in the world, was infested with worms which fed there without ceasing. Naturally, too, the fire which destroyed the refuse never went out, because it was continually replenished by new loads of rubbish. "It is better for you to get inside the kingdom of God with only one eye than with two eyes to be thrown into hell where the worm never dies and the fire never goes out" (Mk. 9: 47, 48).

The Jewish idea of "heaven" was clear and simple. God and his angels have a definite place of abode, above the earth in the sky. There God's throne is located and angels wait upon him and carry out his commands. It would not be quite true to say that no mortal ever entered heaven in the Old Testament day, for the story of Elijah states that at the close of his earthly sojourn he was taken up in a chariot of fire (II Kings 2: 11). He did not die and so did not go to Hades.

The Jewish book entitled the Assumption of Moses which was not included in the Jewish canon of Scripture but, nevertheless, was widely accepted, claimed that Moses also was carried up to heaven. So it was easy for a Jew to understand that, at the transfiguration, when Jesus was upon a very high mountain, the two men who conversed with him were Moses and Elijah.¹

The Jewish conception of "Angels" was quite different from that of Western peoples. They were conceived as a race of supernatural beings, superior to men but subject to God. The Jews never spoke of a human being becoming an angel. The distinction is very clear and sharp. The names of angels are always masculine. No feminine angels appear in the Old Testament. Angels are always pictured in Jewish literature as masculine figures of great strength and power.

Another word not always understood is "eternal." Often in Jewish literature occurs the contrast between this "world" and the life "eternal" (Mk. 10: 30; Lk. 18: 30). The adjective "eternal" (Aionios) and the corresponding noun "world" (Aion) always have reference to the present age and the future messianic age. Jewish literature does not have a contrast between an earthly and a future heavenly existence, but emphasizes the contrast between this present imperfect age and the better age (Aion) to be realized in the near future on earth.

The whole subject of the messianic hope of the Jews may be summed up in the statement that their history and the virile leadership of their prophets had led them to expect for their nation a great future. They thought of this future nationalistically rather than individualistically. This splendid kingdom was to be established upon earth in the near future. It so completely occupied their thought as to displace any definite ideas of individual immortality. Their main concern was that faithful Jews who had departed should return at the call of God to share in the great blessings of that earthly kingdom.

The increasing emphasis upon the moral and spiritual character of the kingdom will be noted in a later chapter indicating

¹There was one other who at the close of his life "was not; for God took him" (Gen. 5: 24). But Enoch was a man about whom little was known. He played an insignificant rôle in Jewish thought.

the development of the spiritual picture of that kingdom which occupied such a prominent place in the religion of Jesus.

RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

Since the appearance of the monumental two-volume work of G. F. Moore entitled *Judaism* there has been a lively discussion among scholars as to the nature of the Jewish religion of the time of Jesus, and in particular as to the relation of Jesus' religion to the Jewish religion. Many articles have appeared on the subject. That of F. C. Porter "Judaism in New Testament Times" and others mentioned in the supplementary reading at the close of this chapter, will introduce the reader to the recent literature on the subject.

In this discussion many things still remain uncertain, but some basic facts stand out more clearly than ever before. Moore is essentially correct in his statement that "Christian interest in Jewish literature has always been too apologetic or polemical rather than historical." The fact has become clear that Judaism in the time of Jesus was not a decadent religion, but a vigorous one with able leaders, and with ability to adjust itself to rapidly changing circumstances. There is great need of a more sympathetic understanding of this developing Jewish religion of that period.

The most important fact regarding the situation is that the nationalism of the Jews lost much of its political and military character, in the face of the overwhelming military power of Rome. The Jews preserved their nationalism by a supreme emphasis on the religious side of their genius which carried them through their political disasters and military defeats.

This religious nationalism was principally expressed in the two forms described in this chapter. The Messianic hope took on a transcendental form. The new Age was not conceived as a natural outgrowth of the present one. There was a growing

¹ Journal of Religion, January, 1928.

² Quoted by Porter, p. 32.

emphasis upon the supernatural. "The transfer of the sphere of final retribution to another existence" brought the new eschatology. "The new eschatology did not dispose of national hope." The most significant advance, says Moore, was in the fact that Judaism was counting religion increasingly a personal relation between the individual and God.

This emphasis on the life of the individual opens the way to an understanding of the extreme legalism of the time. The kingdom in its new form was to be a gift from God, which he in his omnipotence would some day establish upon earth without any great amount of assistance on the part of the Jews. It was clear on this basis that God would give the highest place to those who had served him best. And so there was patient, prolonged and careful scrutiny of the Law to discover just what acts would be most pleasing to Jehovah.

Moreover, legalism was a direct attempt to preserve the nationalism of the Jews. W. C. Graham in his article, "The Jewish World in which Jesus Lived," has well said, "Now one can understand what the Pharisees were trying to do by means of their elaborate system. They were trying to preserve the Jewish people as a distinct social group until their great day of vindication should appear." It was "A Pharisaical system of social control through the inculcation of an ethical system." "Jesus felt that the Pharisaic system failed at the point of greatest need. It failed to reach those who needed it most. It was a middle-class bourgeois religion which offered little for those upon whom the heaviest burdens of life rested." "The Sayings of Jesus," constituting a later chapter of this volume, begin with his words of comfort and inspiration to the poor people of Galilee.

B. W. Bacon emphasizes again the fact that Jesus broke with prevailing tendencies of Judaism. He writes: "Professor F. C. Porter [in the article cited above] expresses as follows his sense that Jesus and Paul are essentially at one in their revolt against

¹ Moore, I, p. 121.

² Journal of Religion, 1928, p. 578.

³ Ibid., p. 580.

the tendencies of Judaism in their time to become a religion of a book: 'The Mishna is a classical expression of the religion of a book, a religion of authority. The New Testament is the classic of the religion of a person, the religion of inwardness and freedom. I may be permitted to express my own conviction—it may seem just now an historical heresy—that this difference goes back to Jesus and was made by him . . . that Jesus was not orthodox.'" ¹

While the Pharisee rejoiced in his marvelously constructed system of social control and found it highly successful in preserving the nationalism of the Jews, Jesus turned his attention to the less privileged classes who bore the burdens of the nation. He gave to them a way of expressing their loyalty to their God and a path to happiness and service. They had no chance to master the legalistic details and technicalities which were easy enough for the middle class. But they could express themselves in ways which Jesus revealed to them, and so follow the divine will into that higher nationalism in which all men are children of God and all who do his will find in him a heavenly Father.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Bosworth, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 23-48.

Bundy, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 1-38.

CASE, Jesus, pp. 1-38.

FAIRWEATHER, Background of the Gospels, pp. 13-92, 265-292.

FOAKES JACKSON and LAKE, Beginnings of Christianity, pp. 35-136.

KENT, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 34-42.

MATHEWS, History of New Testament Times, pp. 179-196.

McCown, The Genesis of the Social Gospel, pp. 75-186.

Schurer, Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 154-187.

WALKER, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 85-100.

Walker, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 85-100. Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. I, pp. 33-89. Zenos, Plastic Age of the Gospel, pp. 3-26.

¹ Journal of Biblical Literature, 1928, p. 230.

Chapter VI

EXTERNAL FORM OF THE TEACHING IN THE GOSPELS

NATURE OF THE PARABLE

Purpose of the Parable.—A study of the external form of Jesus' sayings is of great value in reaching an intelligent understanding of his message. When a number of Jesus' sayings are read in succession (see Chapter VIII) it becomes at once apparent that he combined in a remarkable way a simplicity of expression with a depth of meaning. As Wendt has well put it, he brought together in perfect union "popular intelligibility" and "impressive pregnancy" of thought.

Jesus said to his listeners, "If your trust in God were as big as a mustard seed, you could say to this mountain 'Move away from here' and it would move" (Lk. 17: 6). The individual words are very simple. Anyone can understand them, take them home with him, disagree with them, wonder why Jesus uttered such an absurdity, try to find some purpose or truth in the statement. The result of it all is that the listener asks himself just how much value or power there may be in a confident attitude of trust in God.

Again Jesus said, "If a man strikes you on one cheek, turn the other one to him" (Lk. 6: 29). The words are easily remembered. What could Jesus have meant by them? They become the subject of endless discussion; there is "impressive pregnancy" of meaning in them.

In a like manner, Jesus took a child in his arms and told his listeners unless they received the kingdom as a little child, they would not be able to enter it (Mk. 10:15). Perhaps he had in mind the simple, frank hopefulness of a child.

When no such object lesson was present, Jesus told the story of some personal experience, or of some other homely, familiar incident to illustrate the particular quality or moral of life which he had in mind. It is this incidental nature of the parable which it is all important to understand. When he told people a parable, his purpose was to bring out one particular point. He wished to avoid stating his rule of life in abstract or literalistic terms. He was trying to liberate his followers from the Jewish tendency toward literalism. His intent was to suggest a principle, rather than a rule, and to clothe it in such plain language that anyone who heard might understand.

The statement of Mark 4: 11, 12, that Jesus purposely spoke in a way difficult to comprehend, is often misunderstood and misapplied. As a matter of fact, Jesus' purpose, as clearly portrayed in the earliest sources of the Gospels, was to make his teaching as clear and plain as possible to everyone who was willing to hear him.

Allegorizing the Parables.—When Jesus told the story of the good Samaritan, he was pressing home one particular lesson or moral, namely the duty of helping anyone in need, without regard to race or circumstances. In every age, however, some preachers of the Gospel have tried to find a meaning in each item of the story. In fact, the principle dogmas of mediæval theology used to be read into the parable.

By the allegorists the man of the parable is made to represent humanity. The journey down is the fall of man. Jerusalem is heaven, and Jericho, hell. The thieves are the devil and his angels who tempted man in the Garden of Eden and caused his fall. The priest represents the old ceremonial and sacrifice which were unable to save humanity. The Levite is legalism and purification. The Samaritan is Jesus. The oil and the wine are the sacraments of the Holy Catholic Church. The beast is the body of Christ. The inn is the church, the two shillings are the two testaments of the Bible. The "come again" (Lk. 10: 35) is the second coming.

This old habit of allegorizing has found its way into modern

biblical literature to a most unfortunate extent. R. C. Trench, *Notes on the Parables of Our Lord*, is a book which well illustrates the old tendency. Even Nelson's "Teachers' Testament" constantly inserts allegory. In Luke 13: 6 it explains, "In this parable the fig tree is the Jewish nation; God the owner; Christ the vine-dresser."

The allegorizing method leads into all sorts of difficulties. There is the story (Lk. 11:5) of the man who went to his neighbor at midnight, asking for some bread for a guest. The neighbor answered, saying, "The door is locked and my children are in bed with me." Now if the method just described is followed, the student will read that the man in bed is God, the children are the angels. God has locked his door and wishes no interruption. As a matter of fact, this is just the opposite of Jesus' teaching regarding God, who is always ready and anxious to help. Jesus told the story to teach the value of persistence in prayer (see Chapter X). No other teaching should be read into the parable.

Similarly, the story of the importunate widow (Lk. 18: 1-8) who would not stop her supplications to the judge, teaches the value of prayer. But if the statement is made that the judge in the parable represents God, a very un-Christian teaching is unavoidable. Jesus' stories are all to be understood literally. The judge is a judge, and not God. The widow is a widow, and not a Christian on his knees. Anyone who allegorizes the story loses the lesson of persistence.

The parable of the prodigal son (Lk. 15: 11-32) has suffered as much as any at the hands of the allegorists. The ring (15: 22) is made to represent the espousal of the soul to God. The robe is Christ's righteousness, and the shoes are the godly walk. The older brother makes difficulties. He ought to represent Jesus, but his character does not fit. Modern scholars are avoiding all such allegory. The story pictures the joy of the father when his wandering son returns. Such is the "joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth" (15:7).

Another parable which has been endlessly abused tells of the laborers in the vineyard (Matt. 20: 1–16). The parable tells that the laborers hired at the eleventh hour—that is, at five o'clock—received the same pay for one hour's work which those hired in the morning received for twelve hours. Some laborunion leaders used to like to pick out these verses and hold them up as teachings of the Christian religion. Of course, Jesus had nothing in mind regarding the justice or injustice of laborers being hired in the emergency of harvest time. He was simply referring to customs which existed, to illustrate one particular point. He wished to tell certain self-righteous Pharisees, who pointed egotistically to their long records of pompous piety, that the poor sinner might repent and enter the kingdom with as fine a character as some of them.

The parable of the unjust steward (Lk. 16: 1-13) tells of the manager who kept two sets of books and defrauded the man for whom he was working. The story has occasioned endless discussion. But it is now quite clear to all modern students that Jesus had a perfect right to tell a story of a man whose code of ethics was blameworthy. Many a modern leader tells a story to illustrate the proverb that there is honor among thieves. The story of the unjust steward teaches clearly the lesson that material things may be instrumental in forming friendships and in promoting spiritual enterprises.

The parables of extra service (Lk. 17: 7-10) and the rich man and Lazarus (Lk. 16: 19) and the treasure hid in the field (Matt. 13: 44) and many others can be made to produce strange and un-Christian teaching if the allegorical method of interpreting verse by verse in an effort to discover a meaning in each individual sentence, is pursued.

Right Interpretation of a Parable.—The one way to find the true teaching in a parable of Jesus is to regard it as a single unit with a single teaching. The story is a literal incident which in most cases originated in some experience of Jesus and his disciples. Christians of half a century ago who had read Bun-

yan's *Pilgrim's Progress* found it difficult to turn to the pages of the Gospels without looking for allegory.

To be sure, there are a number of allegories in the Gospel of John. But this Gospel is very different in style from the first three. Moreover the allegories are not in the form of simple stories. "I am the vine, you are the branches" is allegory. But it is utterly different from the story of the good Samaritan or the laborers in the vineyard.

The teaching of a parable is found by following the story through as a literal story, then stating the moral or teaching in a single sentence, and applying that simple statement in the spiritual and religious realm. The treasure hid in the field (Matt. 13: 44) brings out the fact that it is sometimes wise to sell everything to buy a certain piece of land. Applying the principle in the spiritual realm, this means that it may be wise to give up all mere pleasure and material success to gain a blessing more valuable than either. In the parable of the lost sheep (Lk. 15: 3) the personal interest of a shepherd in the wandering sheep is the theme. Applied in the spiritual realm, it teaches the love and care which God exercises toward a wandering soul.

The parable of the sower (Mk. 4: 3-9) teaches that the farmer must expect varying degrees of success, according to external conditions and kinds of soil. This parable has proven to be the greatest barrier in the way of taking Jesus' parables as literal stories. For Mark (4: 13-20) narrates that Jesus himself allegorized this parable. "The sower soweth the word." The birds of the air which came and picked up some of the seed represent Satan who takes away the word (4:15). It is possible that Mark or the followers of Jesus whom he represents were responsible for this allegorizing. There is no reason to consider it impossible that Jesus could have taken one of his own literal stories and made of it allegory.

In any case, the parables of Jesus are first and foremost literal stories. There is no law forbidding anyone to allegorize them. But it is of paramount importance to understand that any teaching based on single verses of a parable or derived from the parable by processes of allegory are teachings of the interpreter himself and are not by any means to be considered as teachings of Jesus. The parable is a straight-forward incident to be taken as a whole, having a single, definite, simple lesson or moral.

Summary of Reasons against Allegorizing Parables.—Those who proceed by the allegorical method of interpretation are not able to agree in their explanations of Jesus' teaching. Their findings are as different as their theologies. It is possible by the method of allegory to find almost any dogma or doctrine or creed in some parable or other.

Jesus did not, like Bunyan, spend long hours at a writingdesk. Bunyan lived in a prison, Jesus in God's out-of-doors. He had little time for the literary and artistic labor which is necessary for the creation of allegorical stories like Pilgrim's Progress. Rather his life was full of experiences and observations which he narrated along the way as he taught his followers. In fact, it is quite probable that most of the parables represent either personal experiences of Jesus or actual incidents which were taking place or had just taken place. Jesus would hear of a woman who had lost a piece of silver and had found it again (Lk. 15: 8-10). He perhaps used the woman's experience to reveal to the woman herself or to her friends the joy of God over finding a human soul that had been lost. Similarly, the incident of the lost sheep or the lost son may have come to Jesus as actual news of the day, which he immediately used for his religious purpose.

The parables frequently contain the words "as" or "like." The kingdom of heaven is "like" leaven (Lk. 13: 21). These words are absent in *Pilgrim's Progress* or in any allegory. They indicate that the phrases following them are to be taken literally. The woman who mixes the yeast is a real woman. The yeast or leaven is also real. The lesson is the permeating power.

The naturalness of Jesus' parables is another argument for

their literalness. No actual man ever went through the actual experiences described in *Pilgrim's Progress*. Every item in the parables of Jesus is simple and easy to grasp. Every action either did take place or could have happened just as it is told.

A fifth argument is the presence of two factors of comparison in the case of the parables of Jesus. "The kingdom of God is like a man who plants seed in the ground and sleeps and rises night and day" (Mk. 4: 26, 27). There is the item in the spiritual realm, the kingdom of God, and over against it is the item in the material world, the man who plants seed. In an allegory there are not two members, but one. The allegory proceeds in a straightforward way from item to item. The reader himself must understand the undercurrent of meaning.

Furthermore, many of the parables interpreted as allegories yield un-Christian and immoral teaching. The importunate widow, the unjust steward, and many another give a strange idea of God and his ways of dealing with men, and still stranger teachings regarding the ethics of Christian brotherhood. Outworn theologies have no difficulty in finding Scriptural bases by this method of interpretation.

If the gospels and their sources are arranged in the chronological order in which they were written, the growth of the allegorizing habit among early Christians becomes clearly apparent. No saying of Jesus is interpreted as allegory in the Doubly Attested Sayings nor in any of the early sources of the Gospels (see Chapter VIII). The gospels of Mark and Luke have one allegory, the sower (Mk. 4; Lk. 8; Matt. 13). Matthew has two, the sower and the tares (Chap. 13). John frequently has an allegorical style and manner.

For all these reasons, the modern student concludes that the only safe rule for interpreting the parables of Jesus is to take them as literal incidents and find in each one a single teaching. The allegory may be a work of art. But Jesus' parables are life itself. They are pieces of the life of Jesus' day and, rightly understood, will contribute to the life which the religion of Jesus imparts to his followers.

JESUS' IDEAS CONCERNING NATURE AND HISTORY

The Physical World.—Jesus' career was very short. His ministry at the most was not longer than three years. It was no proper time to correct all the imperfect ideas which were current in his day. He concentrated his whole attention upon the great message and spirit which he wished to impart to those about him. At one time a man came to him and said, "Make my brother give me my half of our inheritance" (Lk. 12:13). Jesus said to him, "Man, who made me a divider for you?" Many a modern Christian leader is severely criticized for not helping to right a wrong which is called to his attention. If Jesus had given his time to all such matters, he would never have imparted to men that spirit of love which was the pearl of great price.

Jesus found companionship in nature. He used the lilies of the field and the birds of the air as illustrations of God's love, but he did not make any contribution of any sort to physical science. Departments of botany and zoölogy will learn nothing of a technical nature from the Gospels. Jesus spoke in neverto-be-forgotten terms of the God who sends his rain on the just and the unjust. He told men to imitate God in thus doing good to both friend and enemy, but Jesus never gave any information as to how the rain was sent. Men still went on thinking that there were great reservoirs of water stored in the sky.

Jesus told of a God who so loved his children, good and bad, that he made the sun to rise on both sorts. But he never told the process by which God caused the sun to rise. He did not forestall Copernicus. Men still continued to think that the earth was flat.

Jesus said never a word about evolution. Most Jews continued to think that the world was created in six days, about 4,000 years before. To be sure, some early Christians, as shown by the first verses of the Gospel of John, indicated plainly their

belief in some sort of an evolution as against a creation of the world. But Jesus never raised any question of that sort.

It is interesting to speculate as to what would have happened if Jesus had had special knowledge of physical science. Any hint which he might have dropped in Nazareth concerning evolution would have created an atmosphere in which it would have been quite impossible for him to teach the love of God. John could do this later in Ephesus because the situation was very different and because John's ministry covered forty or more years. If Jesus had announced to the Jews that the earth is round and that the sun does not really "rise," he could not have won their attention to his revelation of God.

What Jesus did do was to read God into nature. He made men love the flowers of the field and the birds of the air. A man who listened to Jesus and then saw the sun rise or set could not fail to think of God. A disciple of Jesus lost all fear of natural phenomena. He felt himself in the care of a heavenly Father who was watching over him. Men and women forgot their privations and sufferings, and thought of the harvest of the field and all the gifts of nature, as witnesses that God was blessing his children and showing his love for them.

The Nature of Man.—Jesus made no change in the anthropological and physiological ideas of the Jews. Such a revolutionary discovery as that of the circulation of the blood had to wait for the seventeenth century. What reforms in medicine and therapy might have been made if Jesus had known and preached this simple truth!

The terms which Jesus used regarding the human soul and personality were taken over from the Jewish usage of the time. This usage coincides in part with our own modern ideas and in part is quite different.

"Soul" was used much as in modern times. The soul was the personal element, the seat of the Ego. It lived after death—
"This night your soul will be required of you" (Lk. 12: 20).

"Heart" was a term of much larger significance than in modern speech. It denoted the whole inward nature of man,

"It is from men's hearts that evil plans proceed; immorality, stealing" and the rest (Mk. 7: 21). According to this old Jewish view, a man thought with his heart. There could have been no such contrast as in modern parlance between the dictates of the mind and those of the heart. The mind was included in the heart as a part of it. "A good man out of the good things he has treasured up in his heart produces good, and a bad man out of what he has accumulated of bad things produces what is bad. For his mouth speaks only those things with which his heart is filled" (Lk. 6: 45).

"Spirit" denoted that in man which aspires to God. It was usually contrasted with the flesh or the body. While the word "spirit" is frequently used by John and Paul in this sense, it is utilized by the authors of the first three Gospels specifically in but two passages: "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak" (Mk. 14:38); "Into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Lk. 23:46).

Supernatural Beings.—In harmony with the Jewish ideas of his time, Jesus spoke of angels and demons. If any man in the twentieth century has difficulty with these conceptions, he should understand that Jesus was using Jewish terms and Jewish ideas. He could not have expressed his Gospel in ways that were foreign to his people and his time. There is really no need to suppose that Jesus himself had any supernatural or unnatural ideas along all these many lines. His mission and purpose was to tell men of the love of God and to urge upon them the finding of God and the divine life through the service of one's fellow men.

Angels wait upon God to do his bidding. Each angel has a particular responsibility of guarding a human soul through life. This conception of guardian angels afforded Jesus a beautiful expression of God's love for each member of his human family—"I tell you that in heaven their angels do always have constant access to my heavenly father" (Matt. 18: 10).

Corresponding to the angels were the great hosts of evil beings who worked on the other side to bring temptation and suffering to human beings. They were commanded by their chief, who was called the adversary of God and his angels. The Hebrew word for "adversary," "satan," had become a proper name and a classical expression through such vivid literary pictures as that of the Book of Job. When the seventy-two disciples of Jesus returned from their missionary expedition and told of their success in casting out demons, he exclaimed in vivid language, "I saw Satan fall like a flash of lightning out of heaven" (Lk. 10: 18).

The "demons" who waited upon Satan to do his bidding lured men into deeds of immorality, and endeavored in every way to disturb the happiness of mortals. Sickness, therefore, was a result of demonic influence. "There was a woman there who had had for eighteen years an illness caused by a spirit. She was bent over and could not straighten herself up" (Lk. 13: 11). When one spirit was cast out of a certain man, it found seven other spirits more wicked than itself, and entered into the man, and the man was "worse off than before" (Lk. 11: 26; Matt. 12: 45).

In one case Jesus said to the demon, "Be quiet and get out of him!" (Lk. 4: 35). And the demon came out of him. Most modern scholars feel that Jesus shared the belief of his time in demons and demon-possession. The Jews did not have the modern conception of the universal correlation through natural law of all phenomena. Modern research seeks to understand the reason for all things. The ancient mind had to content itself with the hypothesis that diseases and unexplained events were caused by supernatural agencies.

It is interesting to follow the subject of demon-possession in ancient literature. The Gospel of John in a very striking and remarkable way avoids any statement of demon-possession as the cause of physical or mental illness. It is quite clear that the author of that Gospel had no such belief.

It is a well-known practice of modern psychotherapy that

¹This is only a parable. But there are, however, other passages in which Jesus directly addressed the demons.

the physician enters into the mind and thought world of the patient, and helps the patient to solve his problem in his own way. If a mentally deranged man today thinks that he is being tormented by an evil spirit, it is easier to show him how to overcome the demon, or escape from him, than it is to convince him that his suffering is only imaginative. In any case, without reference to modern practice, it is easy to understand that Jesus might speak to a man "possessed of a demon" in terms of the man's own mind. This would be true even if Jesus himself had no such ideas about demons. But there is no need to suppose that Jesus had any knowledge along this line that differed from current Jewish thought.

Jesus' Ideas about Hades.—It likewise appears that Jesus accepted the current belief in Hades, the world of departed souls (see p. 85). In the story of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk. 16: 19–31), Jesus had a vital and important lesson to teach. He moved rapidly toward his goal, using quickly and easily the language of his time. When Lazarus died "He was carried away by the angels to Abraham's bosom." When the rich man died and was "in Hades," he saw Abraham and Lazarus and began to talk to Abraham. Jesus' whole purpose in the parable was to show that financial and social relationships may be distinctly reversed in the spiritual world. This lesson he expressed in the familiar pictures of his people.

Such a subject comes very close to the central message of Jesus' ministry. It is a subject about which we in modern times would very much like to have further information. But there are many such matters of vital moral import which Jesus did not touch. He did not cry out against the practice of slavery, but left to his followers of the nineteenth century the task of solving this problem of human life. Moreover, Jesus never said anything about the evils of strong drink. He bequeathed to his spiritual descendants of the twentieth century the long and difficult battle for the solution of this human problem.

Old Testament History and Authorship.—Still more startling to some modern minds is the discovery that Jesus accepted and

used the ideas of his time regarding the early history of the world. He referred to the story of Noah and the Ark in such way as to indicate that he thought of the flood as an actual historical event. In a similar manner he spoke about Jonah and his preaching to the men of Nineveh. Matthew includes in the saying a reference to the three days and three nights which Jonah spent in the belly of the whale. To be sure, modern scholars understand quite well that the story of Jonah is a parable, and there is no difficulty with the proposition that Jesus could have referred quite as well to a parable as to a bit of history. Nevertheless, it is probable that the story was accepted as history in Jesus' day and there is no reason to suppose that Jesus differed from those about him who so regarded it.

A half century ago, it was a custom among a certain class of Bible scholars to prove, or attempt to prove, positions regarding the authorship of Old Testament books, by reference to the words of Jesus. In Mark 12: 36 Jesus is reported to have spoken as follows: "David himself said in the holy spirit." Then follows a quotation from Psalm 110, which is one of the later psalms. Verse 37 continues, "David himself calls him Lord." There was, of course, in the mind of Jesus no thought of answering any question about authorship. He was simply using with contemporary significance their own accepted literature.

The most frequently quoted word of Jesus in such a relationship is Mark 12: 26, Luke 20: 37: "Have you not read in the Book of Moses . . . how God spake to him in these words: 'I am the God of Abraham'?" This saying has been used to support the Mosaic authorship of the first books of the Old Testament. The quotation is taken from Exodus 3: 6. It need hardly be said that Jesus was not upholding any theory of authorship. Jesus never sought to investigate, to correct, or to explain the current ideas in such matters. His whole purpose was to present the gospel of the kingdom of God in such way that men and women would rise above the difficulties and sufferings of their daily existence, into a closer walk with their heavenly father.

Apocalyptic Ideas of the Coming of the Kingdom.—There are many other ways and places in which this same principle may be applied to the words of Jesus. It soon becomes apparent that modern men and women must use their God-given minds in understanding the message of Jesus. One of the basic beliefs of the Christian religion from the earliest days has been that the Holy Spirit or the "spirit of Jesus" will guide Christians into more and more perfect knowledge.

One of the most discussed questions of the Christian religion today is that of the second coming. Premillennialists may be found in most churches, who hold that there will be a sudden, catastrophic overturning of the present world, through direct intervention by God. Jesus will appear personally out of heaven. The righteous will be gathered to him, the wicked will perish miserably.

Those who have difficulty with such ideas will do well to remember that all this apocalyptic imagery is Jewish rather than Christian. Jesus never added anything to these concepts. He did not disagree outwardly with his contemporaries in his apocalyptic expectation. His teaching is filled with the atmosphere and the imminence of the great day when the kingdom would be inaugurated.

There are many sayings of Jesus which show that the spirit of his teaching was larger and deeper than any such purely physical expectation. Jesus said the kingdom is like leaven, or yeast, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened. Again he said the kingdom is like a mustard seed which, in spite of its smallness and insignificance, grows to great size. Many another such saying of Jesus points to a spiritual conception, to a realm of noble aspirations and high ideals which grow and spread rapidly in the hearts of men. Jesus' idea of the kingdom will be presented at length in a later chapter of this volume. It should be clearly noted here, however, that among those Jewish ideas which Jesus did not revise

or change were some of the apocalyptic notions and catastrophic expectations which the Jews had begun to associate with the picture of the coming kingdom.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

FAIRWEATHER, Background of the Gospels, pp. 292-311.

JULICHER, A., "Parable" in Encyclopædia Biblica.

ROBINSON, B. W., The Gospel of John, Chap. IV.

ROBINSON, W. H., The Parables of Jesus, pp. 13-42.

WALKER, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 185-221.

WENDT, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. I, pp. 106-172.

ZENOS, "Parable" in New Standard Bible Dictionary 1926.

—, Plastic Age of the Gospel, pp. 35-43.

Chapter VII

THE EARLY YEARS OF JESUS' LIFE

THE development of the religious views of Jesus from the earliest years to the opening of his public ministry is a subject which has increasingly been claiming attention. What kind of life did Jesus live in the home in Nazareth? How was he different from other boys? Did his religion develop gradually, year by year, or was it a result of a sudden revelation which came to him at the time of baptism?

Our information is exceedingly meager. But even if no information at all were available for these early years, there would still be profit and help in filling out, as best we could, the development which preceded his remarkable ministry.

Jesus' Home

"Joseph withdrew into the district of Galilee, and came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth" (Matt. 2: 22, 23).

"Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? And his brothers, James, and Joseph and Simon and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us?" (Matt. 13: 55, 56).

Jesus did not live his boyhood years in Jerusalem, where the emphasis upon legalism and ceremonial was much stronger than in Galilee, but in Nazareth, where there was considerable freedom of thought. Jesus' parents were not of rabbinic or priestly occupation; they rather held to the great utterances of the old prophets. Jesus' early schooling was probably of the usual type. Under the tutoring of the local rabbi, he memorized portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, learned to read the Hebrew text and recite the Aramaic translation. He also learned to recite commentary and interpretation. Most of his knowledge of geography and history would be attached in some way to this study of Scripture and its application.

What kind of a home did Jesus have? Were his brothers older or was he himself the oldest? These questions are hard to answer. Roman Catholics hold to the dogma of the perpetual virginity of Mary, concluding that all these brothers and sisters were children of Joseph by a former marriage. To Protestant Christians this view seems decidedly unnatural.

But whether we think of him as the oldest, or the youngest, or of intermediate age, one thing is fairly certain—he grew up in a good-sized home.

Was the father in the home kind and gentle in all his ways? Or was he, like many another father, at times somewhat harsh and severe? Did the father understand the boy Jesus, and enter into sympathy with his ideals?

No mere superficial answer to these questions will do. The older view was that Jesus must have experienced in his home the beauty of a perfect human fatherhood. Otherwise he would not have chosen the term "father" to describe the character of God.

But modern personal experience should be the main guide in answering these questions. The religion of Jesus will have vital significance and power for us in the proportion that his life and teaching find response in our own natures. Thus if anyone thinks that a young person sometimes develops particular strength of character through the necessity of exercising patience and self-control toward his own family, he will think twice before deciding that Jesus had no problems at home.

How was Jesus treated by his brothers and sisters? What kind of experience in his home would best enable him sympathetically to understand the problems of other young people?

There is a statement in John 7: 5 (cf. Mk. 3: 31), that "his brothers did not believe on him" during his ministry. If this situation existed in the early days in the home, it would afford the boy Jesus many opportunities for the development of self-control.

Jesus' parents were newcomers in Nazareth, according to the statement of Matthew 2: 22. The story of Luke in regard to the census and the trip to Bethlehem also indicates that his parents were settlers, or colonists, in Nazareth. They had left their Judean home for as definite reasons as those which prompted our American parents to move westward. Just what the reasons were may perhaps never be known, but the fact remains that Jesus belonged to a family of aggressive, courageous, industrious folk.

The city or town of Nazareth is not mentioned in the Old Testament or in any pre-Christian writing. Very possibly it was a growing, pioneer settlement, like many American frontier towns. It is a well-known fact that Galilee was a rather uncivilized, or at least unsettled, country in the last centuries before Christ. It was Herod the Great who drove out the robber bands from the country and made it a safe place in which to dwell.

The location and landscape of Nazareth include several features which are of great significance in relation to the Gospel of Jesus. To be sure, anyone who wishes may answer that personality can develop quite independently of physical environment, but modern social studies lend interest to the inquiry into the physical environment of Jesus' boyhood.

Nazareth is almost completely surrounded by the hills in which it nestles. From his home in Nazareth, wherever the home was located, Jesus could climb in a few minutes to a ridge from which he could view the snows of Mt. Hermon, 10,000 feet high. The glistening whiteness lasts through the hottest days of summer. There can be little doubt that Jesus, in time of difficulty or spiritual conflict, found the same sense of the infinite God which many a great soul of modern times has

found in contemplation of the everlasting whiteness of lofty mountains.

Likewise, in the course of a few minutes Jesus could come out from the seclusion of Nazareth to the extensive plain of Esdraelon. Here Jesus saw, as often as he wished, the caravans of the nations passing on their way from Damascus to Egypt; the rich and varied civilizations of Asia and of Egypt in their intercourse with one another found this to be their easiest and best line of travel. Frequently Jesus must have wondered at the peculiar customs and manners of the people passing by. In maturer years he must even have had occasion to talk with these men who had come from the far countries of the world.

A few miles away, moreover, was the city of Scythopolis, the capital of Decapolis. Here the Greek language was spoken, and here the highly developed Greek civilization, which is now being uncovered by modern excavation, was to be found. Sepphoris was also near. No doubt, Joseph, and perhaps Jesus, worked in the rebuilding of this city which had been destroyed by the Romans.

Not far from Nazareth, the modern tourist can catch a glimpse of the Mediterranean Sea, fifteen or twenty miles distant. So it was also in Jesus' day. A little glimpse of the blue waters of the sea would speak to him of the greatness of God's world.

It is not surprising that in the country about Nazareth with its variegated scenic panorama the youth Jesus should find so many natural illustrations of spiritual truth.

JESUS' VISIT TO THE TEMPLE

"When Jesus was twelve years of age, they made the usual journey to Jerusalem. And when they had completed the visit, as they were returning, the boy Jesus stayed behind in Jerusalem, and his parents did not know it. Supposing him to be in the company, they went a day's journey and then they looked for him:

and when they did not find him, they returned to Jerusalem.

"After three days, they found him in the temple, sitting among the teachers, listening to them and asking questions. All who listened to him were astonished at his intelligence and his answers. When they saw him, they were surprised; and his mother said to him, 'My son, why have you treated us in this way? Your father and I have been looking for you anxiously.' And he said to them, 'Why did you search for me? Did you not know that I must be in my father's house?' " (Lk. 2: 42-49).

The story of Jesus in the Temple at twelve years of age has often been understood in an unnatural way. In reality, the narrative opens the door to a glimpse of the growing and expanding soul of Jesus.

When the parents left Jerusalem, as was customary, the men were in one part of the caravan, and the women in another. It is easy to understand how Joseph would think that Jesus was with Mary; while Mary would think that he was with Joseph. Twelve years was about the age when a boy would make the transition from the company of the women to the companionship of the men. At the close of the day, when the caravan halted and the discovery was made, it would be impossible to go back the same night. In fact, it would take all the following day to reach Jerusalem. The next day would be the third day. It was on this day, presumably in the morning, that Jesus was found.

The statement of the narrative that the teachers were surprised at Jesus' intelligence should not be understood in any magical sense. Many a boy of twelve surprises his elders by his intelligence. How much more would this be true of Jesus!

Jesus' question, "Did you not know that I could not be anywhere else than in the father's house?" is a not unusual reference to the temple as the "father's house" and to the fact that

this would be the logical place for Jesus to stay and await the return of his parents.

The narrative indicates Jesus' peculiar personal interest in the temple and in the teachings of the rabbis. He had evidently, even at this early age, turned his attention more than other boys to serious thoughts of God and his will.

Of particular interest is the use of the term "father." Whatever be our view of the story in Luke, the probability is that Jesus began to use this word very early in life. When he began his public ministry, he was apparently already thoroughly accustomed to speaking of God as his father. The word becomes a keynote in his religion, from the earliest years to the last hour on the cross, when he commended his spirit to the Father's care (Lk. 23: 46).

THE BAPTISM

"Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized by John in the Jordan. And as he was coming up out of the water, he perceived the heavens opened, and the spirit descending as a dove; and a voice came out of heaven, 'You are my beloved son. I am well pleased with you'" (Mk. 1: 9-11).

Why did Jesus go to be baptized? The question has raised different answers in different ages. One of the earliest answers is found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The statement is that Jesus did not himself feel any sense of sin which must be washed away in baptism; but that his brothers persuaded him that he ought to be baptized along with the others; to this urging he yielded. This answer has little meaning for us.

The question, however, still persists. Did not baptism signify primarily the washing away of sin, as an introduction to the new way of life? Was not this the preaching and message of The Baptist?

The usual modern answer is that baptism would be under-

stood as a consecration to a life of service, rather than as cleansing from guilt. On this basis, Jesus' reason for going to his baptism was a decision on his part to enter upon an active career in distinction from the secluded life of the carpenter shop at Nazareth.

A variation of this interpretation is that Jesus heard of the reformation which John the Baptist had instituted, and that he was so completely in favor of John's program that he decided to respond, even though he felt no sense of personal shortcoming. This view is perhaps the most satisfactory one for many modern minds. The baptism signified a reconsecration.

To some modern readers a further question presents itself. Is it perhaps possible that Jesus had some sense of not having lived up to the Father's will for him? It is not necessary to suppose that Jesus had ever yielded to any temptation. One may still hold, if he wishes, that Jesus was sinless, and yet feel that Jesus fell short of his own ideal. There is a significant passage in Mark 10: 18. Jesus asks "Why do you call me good?" Some great souls who feel the perfection of Jesus' character think also that a perfect soul is sometimes conscious of its own insufficiency.

Jesus always defined righteousness in terms of positive action. He thought of sin as failure to use the talent intrusted by the Father to each of his children (Matt. 25: 25). There is deep suggestion in the thought that Jesus himself may have felt, before his ministry, that he had not as yet attained the Father's plan for him. Baptism would cleanse his soul of any sense of regret or guilt, as he gave himself to a renewed consecration and yielded himself completely to the Father's will.

The central experience in the incident of the baptism was the voice which he heard: "You are a favored son. I am pleased with you. I have chosen you." It is noticeable that Luke speaks of the dove as having a bodily form. Matthew indicates that a voice was heard by others than Jesus; for it speaks in the third person, "This is my beloved son." Mark, the earliest of the Gospels, gives Jesus' own experience. The voice was a voice directly to his own soul—"You are my beloved son."

The significance of the vision and the voice and the descent of the Spirit is unmistakable. Jesus had come to his baptism without particular consciousness of his important mission. It was at baptism that the Spirit of God suddenly filled him with the divine fullness. Here it was that he came to sudden and complete consciousness that the Father had chosen him for a particular mission. The voice and the revelation overwhelmed him. He knew then in no uncertain way that the Father had called. In the struggle which ensued in his soul he could not return to Nazareth. The Spirit drove him into the wilderness. There he endeavored to make clear to himself what the voice meant, and what kind of mission he was called to undertake.

THE TEMPTATIONS

"And Jesus filled with the Holy Spirit returned from the Jordan and was led by the power of the Spirit through the wilderness for forty days, and was tempted by the devil.

"And he ate nothing during the time: and when the time was past, he became hungry.

"Then the devil said to him, If you are a son of God, command this stone to turn into a piece of bread. And Jesus answered, The Scripture says, Man shall not live by bread alone [Deut. 8: 3].

"Then he led him up and showed him all the kingdoms of the earth, in a moment of time. And the devil said to him, I will give you all this power and glory: For it has been placed in my hands, and I give it to anyone I wish; if you will worship me, it shall all be yours. And Jesus replied, The Scripture says, Thou shalt worship the Lord, thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve [Deut. 6: 13].

"Then he led him to Jerusalem and placed him on

the corner of the temple, and said to him, If you are a son of God, throw yourself down from here: For the Scripture says, He will give his angels command concerning thee, to guard thee. . . . On their hands they shall bear thee up, that thou mayest not strike thy foot against a stone [Psa. 91: 11, 12]. And Jesus replied, The Scripture says, Thou shalt not make trial of the Lord, thy God, [Deut. 6: 16].

"And when the devil had tried out every temptation, he left him for a while" (Lk. 4: 1-13).

The order of the temptations is not the same in Matthew and Luke. Matthew has the visit to the temple second, and the vision of the kingdoms of the world third. The Gospel of Matthew was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and it is probable that the author changed the order to that of a natural climax for his day. The worldly power would be the largest conception for him, as for us. But in the earlier source which Luke used, it is probable that Jerusalem and the temple still appeared as the great and glorious climax of all things.

The temptations of Jesus have always been the subject of extended study and thought. There are today three widely accepted interpretations of them.

There is, first, the popular, uncritical understanding of them. Secondly, there is the interpretation which follows in general the line of Wendt's chapter in his *Teaching of Jesus*. There is, thirdly, the recent scholarly view, which connects the temptations closely with the messianic hopes of the day.

The three lines of approach may serve as commentaries, supplementing each other, and helping in an effort to penetrate to the heart of Jesus' religion.

(1) The popular view of the first temptation is that Jesus was tempted to use his miraculous power for the gratification of his own personal desires. Turning stones into bread is a symbol of the common failing of mankind to use God-given talents and faculties for personal gain and physical wants.

Jesus in particular possessed remarkable powers which he was perhaps tempted to use in the interests of personal popularity, and other earthly and material satisfactions.

The answer which Jesus found in his Scripture was effective and powerful. Bread alone does not bring contentment. Selfishness never attains its objective of personal satisfaction and complete happiness. There are higher values in life which give it its glory and its nobility. It is to these higher values that men should devote their talents, and "all these other things shall be added" (Matt. 6: 33).

The second temptation lends itself easily to a similar popular interpretation. Jesus was tempted to devote his energies to acquiring popularity for the purpose of gaining political, national, and international power. He could lead the people and let them set him up as king, as they had done in the case of the Maccabees and of many of their popular heroes in the past.

Jesus' answer was to turn again to his Scripture, and quote the words of Deuteronomy 6: 13, that loyalty to God is more important than all selfish advantage. If it is necessary to bow down to the devil to gain earthly prestige, it would be far better never to have any worldly position or power.

The third temptation, as popularly understood, expresses a doubt on Jesus' part as to whether God had really called him to a ministry of service. He was tempted as so many young folks of today are tempted, to apply some material test to settle a spiritual question. Often in modern times an earthquake is taken by great numbers as the proof of God's hand in human affairs; and at the same time the same earthquake is taken by others as proof that God does not care what happens to his children. Often the death of a friend, or the recovery of some one, is made a test or proof of God's goodness, or is made a personal basis for decision in some religious situation.

Jesus found in his Scripture the answer that God's call and God's plan should not be tested by any external standard. He decided that he should enter upon his ministry of service with

perfect trust that the Father would take care of him and speak to him in his own good time.

(2) The temptations are treated by Wendt in a way that is full of suggestion. He indicates that Jesus was not very certain of God's call at the time of baptism and that the temptations reflect certain doubts which arose in his mind. Jesus' first doubt, Wendt contends, would be concerned with his humble place as a carpenter's son from Nazareth. How could a man who had to earn his daily bread be God's chosen Messiah. There were so many brilliant leaders at Jerusalem who had wealth and leisure time for teaching. How could Jesus live without food? Would God choose a poor man to be his revealer?

Jesus, after long personal thought, met the doubt by his decision that bread and material goods are not the basis of acceptance with God. "Man shall not live by bread alone" meant to Jesus that one who had scarcely enough to eat might nevertheless be called of God to a great work.

The temptation to win the nations of the world was the reaction from the first temptation, and the cure for it. In the vision of the glory of worldly power he detected the reason and basis for his first temptation. It was only because of the natural tendency to desire worldly recognition that his poverty presented any handicap. Jesus resolved that he would not seek worldly advancement or glory; and in this resolution, his humble origin no longer presented any difficulty in the way of his complete devotion and response to God's call.

It was the same doubt connected with his humble origin which led to the thought that he must make some test to determine whether God had called him. This is the explanation of the temptation to throw himself from the parapet of the temple. If God saved him, in a public demonstration, it would offset the disadvantage of his poverty.

(3) The recent scholarly attitude toward the temptations usually connects them with the messianic hope of the Jews in Jesus' day. There were several differing ideas of the Coming One. Some hoped for a Messiah who would provide bread and

material blessings for the Jews. Others thought primarily of the political power which the Messiah would attain. Still others were looking for a miracle worker, who would compel loyalty and obedience by means of marvelous and supernatural works.

Thus the first temptation reveals a question in Jesus' mind as to whether he should promise the people that, in the new day, "each man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree" (I Macc. 14: 12). Jesus may often have thought of the method which Cæsar had used in Rome for gaining publicity. The free distribution of bread in Rome was very successful in gaining the good will of the populace.

Jesus definitely and deliberately turned away from any thought of setting up any program for establishing a kingdom upon this basis. This decision had a double aspect. It meant, on the one side, that Jesus abandoned any idea that God intended him to be a Messiah who should turn stones into bread. It meant that Jesus' idea was that the blessings of the kingdom were spiritual and not physical. On the other hand, there was also the inference that Jesus would never seek to gain followers or popularity by promises of material blessings. In a word, Jesus refused to yield in any way to this widespread messianic hope.

The second temptation to seek political power among the nations of the world corresponded again exactly to a popular messianic expectation. The Jews were hoping for a priest of the house of David, who would "restore the Kingdom to Israel" (Acts 1: 6).

In turning aside from this temptation, Jesus was rejecting the most influential ideas of his time. Again and again leaders had arisen who promised the Jews independence and political power. Jesus decided not only that this was a hopeless and suicidal program for his people, in the face of the Roman imperial administration, but also that he would not, in his ministry, make any appeal on the basis of political revolution.

The third temptation corresponded also to a very popular messianic expectation. Other messiahs promised to show mar-

velous works to their followers. As in the modern days some emotional religious leaders promise that on a certain day the heavens will be opened or the world will come to an end, so, in the old days, similar wild promises were made. A familiar example is that of Theudas (Acts 5: 36), who gathered a large following by promising that he would miraculously divide the waters of the Jordan, as in the days of Moses. It is easy to see how such methods succeeded for a while in gaining a following.

Jesus made up his mind not to cater to any such expectations or methods. He would go to Galilee doing good and preaching the fatherhood of God and the nearness of his kingdom. He would leave it to God whether his mission would be attended by any marvelous results or not.

In rejecting all these three messianic hopes of his day, Jesus was in fact rejecting any deliberate messianic career. These three hopes were the only outspoken ones. Possibly Jesus did not feel at this time that the work he was called to do was definitely that of Messiah. He knew that he had been called; he was more than sure, after these temptations, that he should devote himself completely to the ministry of bringing the good news of the Father's Kingdom to the people of Galilee. But he avoids using the name Messiah until much later; in fact, he does not allow anyone to say that he is Messiah until the last weeks of his ministry. By that time his own preaching and the will of God for his people had become so well known that it could not be confused by the older established views of what the Messiah should do and be.

The statement that the devil left him for a while suggests the thought that Jesus, again and again through his ministry, had to contend with these same popular demands that he provide bread (Mark 6: 41, 54; John 6: 26), or that he allow himself to be made king (John 6: 15; Lk. 19: 38), or that he perform some miracle to compel belief (Matt. 12: 38).

Jesus came back from his experience in the wilderness to tell the people of Galilee about the love of the heavenly Father. He was convinced that God cared not alone for the more privileged classes of the city of Jerusalem, but also for the poor and the neglected and the discouraged. He went into the little towns of his native Galilee, striving to bring the people into closer communion with the Father whom he knew so well. Coming into a village, he would find a small group of people and begin to talk to them. As Harnack says: "The tendency to exaggerate the apocalyptic and eschatological element in our Lord's message, and to subordinate to this the purely religious and ethical elements, will ever find its refutation" in the sayings of Jesus preserved in the earliest sources. These sayings are "the authority for that which formed the central theme of the message of our Lord—that is the revelation of the knowledge of God and the moral call." ¹

Read the sayings in the following chapter in the light of all the historical information reviewed up to this point. Picture Jesus pleading with his fellow countrymen to renew their hope in the goodness of God and to enter upon that higher level of moral character which befits them as children of God and which will lead them above the petty difficulties of the daily round of life, into that higher existence which is the kingdom of God on earth.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Bosworth, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 49-80.
Bundy, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 38-61.
Case, Jesus, pp. 160-264.
Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 15-42.
Glover, The Jesus of History, pp. 1-62.
Kent, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 43-69.
McCown, The Genesis of the Social Gospel, pp. 187-244.
Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. I, pp. 90-105.

The Sayings of Jesus, p. 250.

Chapter VIII

THE SAYINGS OF JESUS

From an Early Source ("G")1

"You who are poor are fortunate, because the Kingdom of God is yours. Fortunate are you who know what it is to be hungry, for some day you will find satisfaction. You who know sorrow now are blessed, because a time will come when you will be happy. Do not let yourselves be troubled when men talk against you and tell all sorts of lies about you. Be glad and leap for joy, for your heavenly reward will be great; for it was in this way that the prophets of olden days were treated" (Lk. 6: 20–23; Matt. 5: 3, 6, 4, 11, 12).

"I tell you who are listening to me: Love your enemies, do a kindness for those who hate you, say a prayer for those who abuse you. If some one strikes you on the cheek turn to him the other, and if anyone takes away your overcoat do not try to withhold your undercoat. Give something to anyone who asks of you, and if anyone takes something of yours do not demand it back. And whatever you would like to have people do for you, do it for them" (Lk. 6: 27-31; Matt. 5: 44, 39, 40, 42; Matt. 7: 12).

"And if you love only those who love you, what credit is that to you; even worldly people love those who love them. And if you treat well only those who treat you well, what credit

¹In the next pages under "G" and "Pm" are given all the sayings which occur in similar wording in both Luke and Matthew outside the Markan material. These sayings are usually known as the "Logia," or "Q." They evidently were taken from an early source or sources ("G" and "Pm") used by both Luke and Matthew. They are given in the order of their occurrence in the Gospel of Luke. For further explanation see next chapter,

is that to you; even worldly people do that. But love your enemies, and be constantly helpful, and your reward will be great; you will in this way be sons of the Most High; he is kind to the unthankful and the bad. Be full of loving kindness as your Father above is loving and kind" (Lk. 6: 32-36; Matt. 5: 46, 47, 44, 45, 48).

"Do not pass judgment on others and then they will not pass judgment on you, for the measure you use in dealing with others will be the measure that will be used toward you" (Lk. 6: 37, 38; Matt. 7: 1, 2).

"Why do you look at the speck in your brother's eye, and do not notice at all the beam in your own eye? How can you say to your brother, 'Brother, let me take the speck out of your eye,' when you do not see the beam in your own eye? You hypocrite! Take the beam out of your own eye first, and then you will be able to see to remove the speck from your brother's eye" (Lk. 6: 41, 42; Matt. 7: 3-5).

"Can a blind man lead a blind man? Will they not both fall into a ditch?

"A learner is not better than his teacher, but every pupil strives to become as nearly perfect as his teacher" (Lk. 6: 39, 40; Matt. 15: 14; Matt. 10: 24, 25).

"Healthy trees do not produce bad fruit, nor does a bad tree yield good fruit. Every tree is judged by its fruit. Figs are not gathered from thorn bushes, nor is a bunch of grapes picked from a thistle. A good man, out of the good stored up in his soul, produces good; while a bad man, out of his bad store, produces evil. Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaks" (Lk. 6: 43-45; Matt. 7: 18, 20, 16; Matt. 12: 34, 35).

"Anyone who listens to my words and acts accordingly is like a man who in building his home dug deep and laid his foundation upon the rock. When a flood came the stream broke against that home, but was not able to shake it because it had been well built.

"On the other hand, anyone who listens but does not act is like a man who built his home on the ground without any foundation. And the water broke against it and it collapsed. And the crash of that house was great" (Lk. 6: 46-49; Matt. 7: 21, 24-27).

THE FAITH OF THE ROMAN OFFICER

Jesus was entering the city of Capernaum. There was a Roman officer there who had a servant who was ill and at the point of death. He sent to Jesus a request that he would come and save his servant's life. But when Jesus arrived within a short distance of the house, the officer sent friends with the message, "Sir, do not trouble yourself further, for I am not a suitable person to have you come into my home. Simply give the command and have my servant healed. For I, myself, am a man under orders and having soldiers under my command. I say to this one, 'Go,' and he goes; and to that one, 'Come,' and he comes; and to my servant, 'Do this,' and he does it."

And when Jesus heard this he was surprised, and said to those who were following him, "I tell you I have not found such confident trust even among my own countrymen" (Lk. 7: 1-9; Matt. 8: 5-10).

JOHN THE BAPTIST

And John called two of his disciples and sent them to ask Jesus, "Are you the Coming One or shall we look for some one else?" Jesus replied, "Go and tell John what you hear and see, that 'blind ones are regaining their sight' [Is. 61: 1], that lame ones are beginning to walk, lepers are recovering and deaf men are hearing, dead ones are coming to life and 'poor folks are having the Good News told to them' [Is. 61: 1]. And happy is the man who is not perplexed and disturbed by all this" (Lk. 7: 19-23; Matt. 11: 2-6).

When these messengers had departed, Jesus began to talk to the people about John: "What did you go out into the desert to see? A reed being swayed by the wind? If not, what did you go out to see? A man dressed in luxurious garments? You know that men who wear such clothes live in royal palaces. What then did you go out to see? A prophet? Yes, and I tell you much more than a prophet. This is the man of whom Scripture says:

"'Behold I am sending my messenger in advance of you To prepare the way before you'" [Mal. 3: 1].

I tell you that among those born of women there is none greater than John: yet those who are of least importance in the Kingdom of God are greater than he" (Lk. 7: 24-28; Matt. 11: 7-11).

"To what can I compare the people of this time? They are like children sitting in the street and calling to one another and saying:

'We have played the flute for you, but you would not dance.

We have wailed, but you would not weep.'

For John came, a man not eating or drinking like others, and you say, 'He has a bad spirit in him.' And now the son of man has come, eating and drinking like others, and you say, 'There is a glutton and a drinker, a friend of tax collectors and worldly people.' But wisdom is vindicated by all her children' (Lk. 7: 31-35; Matt. 11: 16-19).

"And he sent them out to preach, 'The Kingdom of God is at hand,' and to heal the sick" (Lk. 9: 2; Matt. 10: 5-8).

Another Early Source ("Pm") 1

DISCIPLESHIP TO JESUS

A man came to Jesus and said, "I will follow you wherever you go." Jesus replied, "Foxes have holes and the birds of the

¹These sayings are found in both Matthew and Luke. They are from a source probably distinct from "G" above. See Burton and Goodspeed, Harmony, p. iv.

air have nests; but the son of man does not have a place to lay his head."

Another man said to him, "Let me first go back home and bury my father." Jesus replied, "Leave the dead to bury their own dead. Come and spread the good news of the Kingdom of God" (Lk. 9: 57-60; Matt. 8: 19-22).

He said to his disciples, "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are scarce. Utter a prayer to the Lord of the harvest that he send workers for the harvesting" (Lk. 10:2; Matt. 9:37, 38).

"I tell you I am going to send you out like lambs among wolves" (Lk. 10: 3; Matt. 10: 16).

"Do not carry a bag, or a wallet, or shoes, and do not stop to chat with friends along the way. And whatever house you enter, say 'Peace to this household.' And if there is anyone there who loves peace, your peace will rest upon him, otherwise it will return to you" (Lk. 10: 4-6; Matt. 10: 12, 13).

"When you remain at a house, accept the food and drink which they offer you; for a worker deserves a return for his work" (Lk. 10: 7; Matt. 10: 10).

"And when you enter a city and they refuse to receive you, go out into the streets and utter words like these:

"'Alas for you, city of Chorazin! Alas for you, Bethsaida! For if the wonders which have happened in your midst had happened in Tyre and Sidon they would have shown their change of heart by sitting in sackcloth and ashes. Tyre and Sidon will come off better at the judgment than you.

"'And you also, Capernaum, will you exalt yourself unto heaven? You shall go down and be numbered among the dead. I tell you, the land of Sodom will come off better at the judgment than you'" (Lk. 10: 13-15, 12; Matt. 11: 21-24).

"Those who listen to you are listening to me, and those who disregard you are disregarding the God who sent me" (Lk. 10: 16; Matt. 10: 40).

When those who had been sent returned with joyful news, Jesus said in exultation: "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that though thou hast hidden these things from the wise and the learned, thou hast manifested them to thy little children. Again I thank thee, Father, that thou hast been pleased to have it thus" (Lk. 10: 17, 21; Matt. 11: 25-26).

"All this has been intrusted to me by my father. No one truly knows me except my Father, and no one truly knows the Father except his son and those others to whom the son is striving to reveal him" (Lk. 10: 22; Matt. 11: 27).

"Blessed are your eyes for what they see; for I assure you that many prophets have longed to see what you are seeing and could not see it, and to hear what you are hearing and could not hear it" (Lk. 10: 23-24; Matt. 13: 16, 17).

CONCERNING PRAYER

"Learn to pray in this way:

"'Father, may thy name be revered,
May thy kingdom come,
Give us day by day our bread for the day,
Forgive us our sins

For we also forgive anyone who wrongs us,
And do not bring us into temptation.'"

(Lk. 11: 2-4; Matt. 6: 9-13).

"Ask, and you will receive: seek, and you will find; knock, and a door will be opened for you; for it is the one who asks who receives, and the one who seeks who finds, and the one who knocks to whom a door is opened. What father among you if his son asks for a fish will give him a snake, or if he asks for an egg will give him a scorpion. In the same way if you, bad as you are, know enough to give good things to your children, how much more will your Father above give his spirit to those who pray to him" (Lk. 11: 9–13; Matt. 7: 7–11).

THE "SEVEN OTHER SPIRITS"

At one time they brought to him a man afflicted with a demon of dumbness. And when the demon was gone the dumb man began to speak. And the people were astonished. Some of them said, "It is with the help of Beelzebub, the prince of demons, that this has occurred." Jesus replied, "If I am driving out demons with the help of Beelzebub, with whose help do your sons drive them out? But if I am driving out demons by the aid of God's spirit, then the kingdom of God has arrived among you" (Lk. II: 14, 19, 20; Matt. I2: 22, 27, 28).

"Those who are not with me are against me, and those who do not help me in gathering, are scattering" (Lk. 11: 23; Matt. 12: 30).

"When a bad spirit goes out of a man it roams through the country looking for a home. When it fails to find one it says, 'I am going back to the home which I left.' When it returns it finds it unoccupied and swept and put in order. Then it goes and brings along with it seven other spirits worse than itself and they go in and begin to live there. And the last state of that man is worse than the first" (Lk. II: 24-26; Matt. I2: 43-45).

GOD'S SIGN

Some of them said, "We want you to show us a sign." He replied, "It is a wicked age which demands a sign. No sign will be given except the sign of Jonah. For as Jonah went to be a sign to the people of Nineveh, so will the son of man be a sign for this age. The people of Nineveh will rise up at the judgment side by side with the people of this age and condemn it; for they had a change of heart because of Jonah's preaching; and something greater than Jonah's preaching is happening now.

"The queen of the South will rise up at the judgment beside

the people of this age and will condemn it; for she journeyed from the ends of the earth to listen to the wisdom of Solomon; and something greater than Solomon's wisdom has now come" (Lk. II: 16, 29–32; Matt. I2: 38, 39, 41–42).

KEEPING THE EYE CLEAN

"When you light a lamp, you do not put it under a cover to hide it, but place it on a stand so that it gives light to all" (Lk. II: 33; Matt. 5: 15).

"The lamp of your body is your eye. If you keep your eye healthy your whole body will be full of light. But if your eye begins to be bad your whole body will become dark. So beware, let not your light turn to darkness!" (Lk. 11: 34, 35; Matt. 6: 22, 23).

RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE HEART

"Alas for you Pharisees who clean the outside of the cup and the plate while inside you are full of greed and evil. Clean first the inside, and the outside will take care of itself" (Lk. II: 39, 40; Matt. 23: 25, 26).

"Alas for you Pharisees who pay tithes on mint and rue and every little herb, and yet neglect justice and kindness. These are the things you ought to do without neglecting those lesser things" (Lk. 11: 42; Matt. 23: 23).

"You are like graves which are made to look well on the outside" (Lk. 11: 44; Matt. 23: 27).

"You teachers of the law load people with burdens which can hardly be carried, while you, yourselves, do not touch them even with one finger" (Lk. 11: 46; Matt. 23: 4).

"Alas for you who set up monuments for the prophets yet testify by your conduct that you are sons of your fathers. They put the prophets to death and you build tombs for them. This is what the scripture says, 'I will send prophets to them, and some of them they will put to death, and some they will persecute.' So the blood of all the prophets from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zacharias who perished between the altar and the sanctuary has come upon this age as a stain and testimony" (Lk. II: 47-51; Matt. 23: 29-32, 34-36).

"Alas for you teachers of the law who have taken the key to the gate of the Kingdom of God and are not only not entering it yourselves, but are hindering those who are trying to enter (Lk. 11: 52; Matt. 23: 13).

"There is nothing that is covered up which is not going to come to light; there is no dissimulation which will not be discovered. Whatever you say secretly is sure to manifest itself, and what you whisper to one another will proclaim itself.

"Do not be afraid of those who may kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul. Fear rather that which can destroy both soul and body in a valley of Hinnom" (Lk. 12: 2-5; Matt. 10: 26-28).

GOD'S CARE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

"Do not five sparrows sell for a small coin? Yet not one of them has escaped the Father's notice. I assure you that the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Do not let fear rule your life, you are of greater value than a great number of sparrows" (Lk. 12: 6, 7; Matt. 10: 29-31).

"I tell you, do not worry about your life fretting as to what kind of food you are going to eat, or about your body as to what clothes you are going to wear. Your life is more important than what you wear. Look at the birds of the air. They do not even plant fields or reap harvests; they have no storehouses or barns; yet the Father above gives them food. You are of far greater value than the birds.

"Will worry help anyone of you to add a single hour to his life? If worry cannot help you in the least, what use is there in it? "Learn a lesson from the lilies of the field, see how they grow. They do not fretfully toil and spin; yet I tell you even Solomon in all his grandeur was never robed like one of them. If God thus clothes the flowers of the field which today are alive and tomorrow are used for fuel in a stove, how much more surely will he take care of you, you who have so little trust in him. So do not ask what you are going to eat or to drink, and do not worry yourselves about it. For the people of the world are striving for these things, and your Father above knows that you need them all. But seek his kingdom first, and these other things will be yours besides" (Lk. 12: 22-31; Matt. 6: 25-33).

"Give to the needy, make yourselves purses that will never wear holes in them and fail you in time of need [Hag. 1:6]. Lay up for yourselves a lasting treasure in heaven where thieves cannot break through nor steal. For where your treasure is there will your heart be also" (Lk. 12: 33, 34; Matt. 6: 19-21).

CONSTANT WATCHFULNESS

"You know well that if the master of the house had known at just what time the burglar was coming he would have kept watch and not have allowed his home to be entered and robbed. This is the way you should be constantly on the watch, for you cannot tell at what hour the son of man may come.

"Which one of you is like the trustworthy servant whom the master in any time of absence will place in charge of his household to provide food and supplies at the proper times? Happy will be that servant if his master on returning home finds him doing his duty. I tell you that a master will choose that kind of a man to put in charge of all his affairs. But if that servant says to himself, 'It will be a long while before the master comes,' and begins to mistreat the members of the household and to eat and drink and get drunk, the master of that servant will come at a time when he least expects it and will make an end of him and put him with the untrustworthy ones" (Lk. 12: 39-46; Matt. 24: 43-51; cf. Matt. 25: 13).

"Do you think that I have come to bring peace in the world? I would rather tell you, to bring division, 'Son at variance with father, daughter with her mother, daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law'" [Micah 7:6] (Lk. 12:51, 53; Matt. 10:34-35).

"Do your best to make reconciliation with an adversary along the way; otherwise he may bring you before the judge and the judge may hand you over to the bailiff, and you may be put in prison. I tell you, you will not get out from there until you have paid the last cent" (Lk. 12: 58, 59; Matt. 5: 25, 26).

"The Kingdom of God is like a bit of yeast which a woman took and mixed in a big measure of flour until the whole batch was made to rise" (Lk. 13: 20, 21; Matt. 13: 33).

ENTERING THE KINGDOM

"Make every possible effort to get in through the narrow door, for many who are trying to enter will not succeed" (Lk. 13: 24; Matt. 7: 13, 14).

"Some will say, 'Open the door for us, sir'; and he will answer, 'I do not know you; depart from me all ye workers of iniquity' [Psa. 6: 8]. You will weep and gnash your teeth if you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God, and yourselves left outside. And many will come 'from the East and from the West' [Mal. 1: 11], and receive their places in the kingdom of God (Lk. 13: 25-29; Matt. 25: 11, 12; Matt. 7: 23; 8: 11, 12).

"Jerusalem, Jerusalem, putting to death her prophets and stoning the messengers sent to her, how many times have I wanted to gather your children around me as a hen gathers her chickens under her wing! And you have refused. Now I leave you to yourself [Jer. 22: 5; 12: 7]. I tell you, you will not see me any more until you say: 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of Jehovah'" [Psa. 118: 26] (Lk. 13: 34, 35; Matt. 23: 37-39).

"Anyone who exalts himself will be humbled, but one who humbles himself will be exalted" (Lk. 14: 11; Matt. 23: 12; Lk. 18: 14).

"No one who will not take up his own cross and follow after me can be a disciple of mine" (Lk. 14: 27; Matt. 10: 38).

"You should be the salt of the earth. But if the salt itself loses its flavor, wherewith can its strength be restored? It is good for nothing but to be thrown away" (Lk. 14: 34, 35; Matt. 5: 13).

THE LOST SHEEP

He told them a story as follows: "If any man of you has a hundred sheep and one of them has wandered away, does he not leave the ninety and nine in the pasture and go to look for the one that is lost until he finds it? And when he has found it, he is happy. And when he reaches home he calls in his friends, saying, 'Rejoice with me for I have found my sheep that was lost.' I tell you that there will be greater rejoicing in the presence of the Father above over the finding of one who has wandered away than over ninety and nine who have not strayed" (Lk. 15: 4–7; Matt. 18: 12, 13).

SERVING GOD

"No one can be a loyal servant to two different masters. For he will either dislike one and love the other or he will be faithful to the one and make light of the other. You cannot serve both God and the mammon of money" (Lk. 16: 13; Matt. 6: 24).

"The prophets and the law prevailed until the coming of John the Baptist. Since then the kingdom of God has been proclaimed and men are trying to push their way into it" (Lk. 16: 16; Matt. 11: 12, 13).

"It is easier for heaven and earth to change than for one letter of the law of God to fail" (Lk. 16: 17; Matt. 5: 18).

"Any man who puts away his wife to marry another woman commits adultery and a woman who puts away her husband to marry another man is committing adultery" (Lk. 16: 18; Matt. 5: 32; 19: 9; cf. Mk. 10: 11).

"It is to be expected that obstacles to the kingdom will come, but alas, for the man who brings them" (Lk. 17:1; Matt. 18:7).

"If your brother does you a wrong, go and talk it over with him, and if he is sorry, forgive him. And if he does you a wrong seven times a day and comes to you each time afterward and says, 'I am sorry,' you are to forgive him" (Lk. 17: 4; Matt. 18: 15, 21, 22).

"If you had faith the size of a mustard seed, you could say to this mountain, 'Move away from here,' and it would move, and nothing would be impossible for you" (Lk. 17:6; Matt. 17:20; cf. Mk. 11:22, 23, Matt. 21:2).

"If they say to you, 'There is the son of man' or 'This man is he,' do not believe it or go to follow him. For as the lightning flashes suddenly in the sky, so will be the coming of the son of man. Just as it happened in the days of Noah so shall it be at the coming of the son of man. They were eating and drinking, they were marrying and being married up to the day when, 'Noah entered the ark' [Gen. 7: 7]. And the flood came and destroyed them all. And where the dead bodies are, the vultures will gather.

"There will be two men in the same field; one may be taken and the other left. Two women may be grinding together, and one taken and the other left" (Lk. 17: 23, 24, 26, 27, 37, 34, 35; Matt. 24: 26-28, 37-41).

"The one who tries to preserve his own self will lose his soul, but he who loses himself in the cause of the Gospel of the kingdom will find the higher life" (Lk. 17:33; Matt. 16:25; Mk. 8:35; Lk. 9:24; Matt. 10:39).

"Anyone who has something of spiritual insight will be able to gain more, but one who has nothing will lose even what he has" (Lk. 19: 26; Matt. 25: 29; Mk. 4: 25; Lk. 8: 18; Matt. 13: 12).

Another Early Source ("PL")1

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

A teacher of the Law asked Jesus, "Master, what shall I do to attain the life of the age to come?" And Jesus answered, "What do you find in the Law? What do you read there?" He replied, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God' [Deut. 6: 5] and Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'" [Lev. 19: 18]. And Jesus said, "You have answered correctly, 'Do this and thou shalt live'" [Lev. 18: 5].

The man desiring to justify his question said to Jesus, "But who is my neighbor?" Jesus answered:

"A man was once going down from Jerusalem to Jericho and was attacked by robbers who took even his clothes and after beating him, got away, leaving him half dead. A priest happened to be going that way and saw him, but went by him at a distance. In the same way a Levite came to the spot and saw him, but passed around him. Finally a foreigner from Samaria who was on a journey came to him and when he saw him he was sorry for him. He went up to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring oil and wine on them. Then he placed him on his own beast and brought him to an inn where he took care of him. On the next day he took some of his own money and gave it to the manager and said, 'Take good care of him, and whatever further you have to spend I will repay to you on my way back.'

"Which of these three men do you think turned out to be 'neighbor' to the man who fell into the hands of the robbers?"

He replied, "The one who was sorry for him and helped him." Jesus said to him, "Go and do as he did" (Lk. 10: 25-37).

¹A source used by Luke in 9: 51 to 18: 14 and 19: 1-28. The source consisted principally of parables.

ABOUT PRAYER

"What will happen if one of you who has a neighbor goes to him in the middle of the night and begs him, 'Comrade, let me have three pieces of bread; a guest has just arrived at my house on a journey and I have nothing to give him to eat'? The friend from inside may answer, 'Do not bother me now; the door is locked and my children are with me in bed; I cannot get up to give you anything.' But I assure you if he will not get up and give him anything for the sake of friendship, nevertheless, if the demand is persistent enough he will get up and give him whatever is needed" (Lk. II: 5-8).

THE MAN WHO LAYS UP TREASURE FOR HIMSELF

One man in the crowd said to Jesus, "Master, speak to my brother and tell him to share the inheritance with me." Jesus said to him, "Who appointed me judge or arbitrator between you?" Then Jesus continued to those present, "Be careful to keep yourselves from every sort of greed; for even when a man has wealth and plenty, his life does not consist of his possessions." Then Jesus told them this story:

"It once happened that a rich man had farms which proved very fertile: And he began to reason with himself in this way, 'What shall I do? I have no place to store all my crops.' Then he said, 'This is what I will do; I am going to take down my barns and build larger ones and keep all my grain and my goods there. And I am going to say to myself, "My soul, you have plenty of wealth laid by for many years to come. Now take it easy; eat, drink and enjoy yourself."' But God said to the man, 'You foolish man, this very night your soul will be taken away from you; then all these things you have prepared,—who will possess them?'

"Such is the man who lays up treasure for himself and is not rich toward God" (Lk. 12: 13-21).

THE FIG TREE WITHOUT FRUIT

Just at that time some people arrived with news about the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mixed with the blood of their sacrifices, and he answered, "Do you suppose that because these Galileans have suffered in this way that they were sinners any more than other Galileans? I tell you, No. But unless you have a change of heart, you will all perish, too. It is just the same as with those eighteen on whom the tower fell at Siloam and killed them. Do you suppose that they were offenders any more than all the other people who live in Jerusalem? I tell you, No. But unless you have a change of heart, you will all perish, too." Then he told them this story:

"Once a man had a fig tree growing in his vineyard. And he came to look for fruit on it and did not find any. Then he said to his gardener, 'It is now three years that I have been coming to look for fruit on this fig tree without finding any. Cut it down and take it away. Why should it use this space for nothing?' But he answered, 'Let it stay, sir, just this season, till I dig around it and fertilize it. Then if it produces fruit next season, good! But if not, then take it away'" (Lk. 13: 1-9).

CURING A CRIPPLED WOMAN

Once he was teaching in a house of worship on the Sabbath and it happened that a woman was present who had had a spirit of weakness for eighteen years. She was bent over and was not able to straighten herself up at all. When Jesus saw her he spoke out to her, saying, "Come here and be released from your weakness." And he placed his hands on her. And she straightened herself up immediately and began to give thanks to God. But the head of the synagogue was disturbed by the fact that Jesus had cured her on the Sabbath and said to those present, "There are six days on which work should be done. Come on those days if you want to be cured, but not on the

Sabbath." The Master answered him, "You hypocrites, don't you release your ox or your donkey from the manger on the Sabbath to lead him away to water? And may not this woman who is a daughter of Abraham and whom the evil one bound eighteen years ago be released from this bondage on the Sabbath day?" When he had said this, all those who were opposing him felt ashamed, and all the people present were happy over all the splendid things he was doing (Lk. 13: 10-17).

REPLY TO HEROD

At that time some Pharisees arrived, saying, "Leave here and make your escape; for Herod wants to kill you." He replied, "Go and say this to that fox, I shall go on with my task of banishing evil spirits and curing people today and tomorrow and the next day until I complete my work. But today and tomorrow and the day after I must continue on my journey because it is not right that a prophet should die anywhere but in Jerusalem" (Lk. 13: 31-33).

ABOUT SUPPERS AND INVITATIONS

Once when he observed that the invited guests were picking out the best places for themselves, he began to talk to them in this way:

"When you are invited by anyone to a wedding supper do not go and occupy the best place. Perhaps some one whom the host holds in greater respect has been invited. Then the host may come to you and say, 'Let this man have a place,' and then you will be embarrassed and start off to take the lowest place. When you receive an invitation go and find the lowest place. Then when the host comes he will say to you, 'My friend, come up nearer.' Thus you will receive honor before all your fellow guests."

Then he said to the host who had invited him, "When you invite folks to lunch or to supper, do not ask your personal

friends or your brothers or your relatives or well-to-do neighbors; they might invite you in return and so pay you back. But when you entertain, invite poor folks and people who are crippled or lame or blind. Then you will be happy, for they cannot pay you back and so you will receive your return at the resurrection of the righteous."

One of the guests who heard this said to him, "Truly happy is the man who eats bread in the kingdom of God." Jesus said to him, "Once a man was giving a great supper. He sent out many invitations. Then at the hour for the supper he dispatched his servant to announce to those who had been invited, 'Come now. Everything is ready!' Then they each began to beg to be excused. The first one said, 'I have bought a piece of land and I have to go and see it; I beg of you, let me be excused.' Another one said, 'I have bought five yoke of oxen and I am going to try them out. I beg of you let me be excused.' Still another one said, 'I have just been married, and for that reason am unable to attend.'

"When the servant returned and reported all this to his master, the host became angry and said to the servant, 'Go out at once into the parks and streets of the city, and bring in the poor folks and the people who are crippled and blind and lame.' When the servant reported 'Your order, sir, has been carried out, and there is still room,' then the master said to him, 'Go out into the country along the roads and fences, and make others come in, so that my house may be filled. For I assure you that none of those men who received invitations shall have a taste of my supper'" (Lk. 14: 7-24).

THE COST OF THE IDEAL CHARACTER

"If any one of you sets out to build a tower in his vineyard, does he not first sit down and calculate the cost and lay plans to finish the building? Otherwise he may have laid the foundation and not be able to complete the work; then anyone who

views it will begin to ridicule him and say, 'This man started to build and has not been able to finish his work.'

"Or if a king goes to wage war with another king does he not first sit down and lay plans to see whether he will be able with ten thousand men to meet the other who is coming against him with twenty thousand? In the same way any one of you who does not use every possible means at his disposal cannot be a disciple of mine" (Lk. 14: 28-33).

THE WOMAN AND THE LOST COIN

"Is there a woman who, after losing one of ten pieces of money, will not take a light and search carefully and sweep the house until she finds it? Then when she has found it she calls in her friends and neighbors and tells them, 'I have found the coin which I lost. Come and share my happiness.' In the same way I assure you there is happiness among the angels of God when one worldly man has a change of heart" (Lk. 15: 8-10).

THE PRODIGAL SON

"Once there was a man who had two sons. And the younger of the two said to his father, 'Father, give me the share of the estate which is to come to me.' So the father divided between them what he possessed. A few days later the younger son took everything he had and started off for a distant place. There he squandered his money in reckless living. After he had spent everything, there came a time of severe famine in that district and he began to be in want. Then he went and secured work with one of the owners in the district and that man put him on his farm to take care of his hogs. There he used to want to feed himself with the beans which the hogs were eating, but no one would give him any. When he finally came to his senses he said, 'How many hired men my father has who have plenty of bread to eat and I am perishing here with hunger! I am going to set out and go to my father, and say to him, 'Father, I

have done wrong both toward heaven and toward you; I am not worthy to be known as your son any longer, but make me one of your hired men.' So he started out and made the journey to his father's home. But while he was still some distance away, his father saw him and felt sorry for him and ran and embraced him, and kissed him. The son said to him, 'Father, I have done wrong both toward heaven and toward you; I am not worthy to be known as your son any more, but make me one of your hired men.' But the father said to his servants, 'Bring out right away the best robe we have and dress him in it, and bring a ring for his finger and shoes for his feet; and get the calf that has been fattening and kill it, and let us have a merry feast; for this son of mine was dead and has come to life, he was lost and has been found.' And they began to celebrate.

"Now the older son was in the field. When he came in near the house he heard music and dancing. So he called one of the servants and asked him what could be going on. He answered him, 'Your brother has come home and your father has killed the calf that has been fattening, because he has his son back safe and sound!' The older brother became angry and would not go in. Then his father came out and begged him. But he answered his father, 'See how many years I have been serving you and have never disobeyed any command of yours. Yet you have never given me even a kid so that I might celebrate with my friends. But when this son of yours who has eaten up your estate with bad women comes home you kill for him the calf that has been fattening.' The father said to him, 'My child, you are with me all the time and everything that I have is yours. But we could not help celebrating and being happy over your brother, who was dead and has come to life, was lost and has been found'" (Lk. 15: 11-32).

THE SHREWD MANAGER

"Once a rich man had a manager who was maliciously accused of squandering the property. The master summoned him and said: 'What is this I hear about you? Render your accounts as manager, for you cannot act as my manager any longer.' Then the manager said to himself, 'What shall I do now that my master is taking away my position from me? I am not strong enough to dig, and I would be ashamed to beg? I know what I can do so that when I am put out of my position people will welcome me in their homes!' Then he summoned each one of those who were in debt to his master and said to the first one, 'How much do you owe my master?' He replied, 'A hundred measures of oil.' He said to him, 'Here take your bond; sit right down and make it fifty.' Then to another he said, 'How much do you owe?' And he replied, 'A hundred measures of wheat.' He said to him, 'Take your bond and make it eighty.' The master complimented the unjust manager because he had acted prudently.

"Godless men are more clever in their conduct toward their fellow men than are the sons of the light. I tell you, make friends for yourself with your worldly gains so that when it is gone they may welcome you into the homes which endure.

"The man who is trustworthy in a small matter is trustworthy in a great one, too. So if you do not prove trustworthy in the use of your faithless money, who will trust you in the matter of the true treasure? And if you have not proved trustworthy with what belongs to another, who will give you a treasure of your own" (Lk. 16: 1-12).

THE RICH MAN AND THE POOR MAN

"Once there was a rich man who dressed in fine linen and wore a purple cloak. He had a banquet in his home every day. Now there was a poor man whose name was Lazarus. He used to be placed near the gate. He was afflicted with sores and used to want to be fed with the leavings from the rich man's table. Worst of all, the dogs would come and lick his sores.

"After a while the poor man died and was carried away by

the angels to the presence of Abraham. The rich man also died and was buried. In Hades he looked up while he was in distress and torment and saw Abraham at a distance, and Lazarus with him. So he called to him, saying, 'Father Abraham, have pity on me and send Lazarus to wet the tip of his finger with water and cool my tongue, for I am in pain and distress in this burning heat.'

"Then Abraham said, 'My child, remember that you had your good things during your lifetime and Lazarus had his troubles. But here he is now receiving his comfort while you are suffering. Besides all this, between you and us there lies a great chasm, so that those who want to cross over from here to you are not able to do so; nor can anyone cross from you to us.'

"The rich man said, 'Then I beg of you, father, send him to the home of my father; for I have five brothers. Have him tell them so that they will not follow me to this place of torment.' But Abraham said, 'They have Moses and the prophets. They may listen to them.' Then he said, 'But I beg of you, Father Abraham, if some one from the dead should go to them, they would have a change of heart.' But he said, 'If they will not listen to Moses and the prophets, they will not be persuaded even if some one were to return from the dead" (Lk. 16: 19-31).

EXTRA SERVICE

"Which of you who has a servant ploughing or taking care of the sheep would say to him when he came in from the field, 'Here, come and sit down?' Would you not naturally say 'Get the supper ready, put on your coat and wait on me while I eat, then have your own supper?' Do you give special thanks to the servant for doing what he is told? Apply this to yourselves. When you have observed all the commandments, then say plainly, 'We are only ordinary servants; we have only done what we ought to have done'" (Lk. 17: 7-10).

THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM

When he was asked by the Pharisees at what time the kingdom of God was going to come he replied in the words: "The kingdom of God is not going to come in a visible fashion. You will not be able to say: 'Here it is. Look at it,' or, 'There it is.' For I tell you the kingdom of God is among you" (Lk. 17: 20, 21).

CONCERNING PRAYER

He told them a story to show the need of persistence in prayer and of never becoming discouraged: "There was once a judge in a certain city who had no fear of God or regard for men. In the city there was a widow who used to come to him with her petition, 'Give me justice against my opponent.' And he was not willing for a while, but later he said to himself, 'Even though I do not fear God or regard men, yet because this widow makes me so much trouble I will give her a hearing; otherwise she may wear me out with her visits'" (Lk. 18: 1-5).

At another time he spoke to some who were quite confident that they were righteous and who felt themselves better than others: "Two men went into the court of the temple to pray, one a Pharisee and the other a collector of taxes. The Pharisee straightened himself up and began to pray in this way to himself: 'God, I thank thee that I am not like the rest of men, greedy, dishonest, impure, or like this tax collector. I fast twice a week, I give a tenth of all I gain.'

"The tax-gatherer, standing at a distance, could not even raise his eyes to heaven, but struck upon his breast, saying, 'God, have mercy on this sinner.' I tell you, this man went home with God's approval rather than the other, for everyone who lifts himself up will be humbled, but the man who humbles himself will find himself exalted" (Lk. 18: 9-14).

ZACCHÆUS

One day as he continued his journey, he was passing through Jericho. There lived there a man name Zacchæus, who was the head collector of taxes and personally wealthy. He was trying hard to see who and what Jesus was, but, being a short man, he was not able to see him on account of the crowd. So he hastened on ahead and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him, knowing that he was going to pass that way. When Jesus came to the spot, he looked up and said to him, "Zacchæus, come down, for I want to stop at your home today." So Zacchæus hastened down and welcomed him heartily.

Those who saw it began to whisper, saying, "He has gone to stay at the home of a man of the world." But Zacchæus in his home straightened himself up and said to the Master, "Listen, sir, half of my possessions I will give to the poor, and if I have defrauded anyone I will return him four times the amount." Then Jesus said to him, "Today salvation has reached this home; this man too has become a son of Abraham. The son of man has come 'to find those who were lost' [Ez. 34: 16] and to save them" (Lk. 19: 1–10).

STORY OF THE MAN WHO EARNED NOTHING

"Once there was a member of a royal house who made a journey to a distant place to receive an appointment as king and to return. (See Archelaus, p. 59.) So he called ten servants of his and gave to them each a sum of money, telling them to make good use of it while he was gone. When he returned after receiving his appointment as king, he gave orders that these servants to whom he had given the money be called into his presence, that he might find out what use they had made of it. So the first one came, saying, 'Master, your money has earned ten times as much.' He said to him, 'Well done; you are an excellent servant. Since you have proved trustworthy in a very

small matter, you are to have supervision of ten cities.' Then the second came, saying, 'Your money, sir, has earned five times as much.' To him he said, 'You too are to have supervision of five cities.'

"Then the other one came, saying, 'Sir, here is your money which I have kept carefully preserved in a handkerchief; for I was afraid of you, because you are a very strict man. You take what you have not planted and harvest what you have not sown.' To him he said: 'I will convict you out of your own mouth, you bad servant. You knew that I was a very strict man, taking what I had not planted and reaping what I had not sown. Why did you not at least put my money in the bank? Then when I arrived I could at least have had it with the addition of interest.' Thereupon he gave the order to his attendants, 'Take the money from him and give it to the one who earned the tenfold amount.' They said to him, 'Sir, he has ten times as much!' 'Yes,' he said; 'I tell you anyone who has earned something will have more given him, but the man who has nothing will have even what he has, taken away" (Lk. 19: 12, 13, 15-26).

Doubly Attested Sayings 1

- 1. "Anyone who wishes to be my disciple will practice self-denial and take up a cross and follow after me" (Mk. 8: 34; Lk. 9: 23; Matt. 16: 24; Lk. 14: 27; Matt. 10: 38).
- 2. "No one who lights a lamp puts it under a cover to hide it, but places it on a stand so that it gives light to all" (Mk. 4: 21; Lk. 8: 16; Matt. 5: 15; Lk. 11: 33).
- 3. "There is nothing that is covered up which is not going to come to light; there is no dissimulation which will not be discovered" (Mk. 4: 22; Lk. 8: 17; Matt. 10: 26; Lk. 12: 2).
- 4. "Anyone who has something will gain more, but one who ¹ These sayings occur some four and some five times in the Gospels. The fact that they occur more than once in the same Gospel (Luke or Matthew) suggests that they may have occurred in at least two of the sources used by the Gospel writers. Hence the name "doubly attested."

has nothing will lose even what he has" (Mk. 4: 25; Lk. 8: 18; Matt. 13: 12; Lk. 19: 26; Matt. 25: 29).

- 5. "It is a wicked age which demands a sign. I tell you no sign will be given to this generation" (Mk. 8: 11, 12; Matt. 16: 1-4; Matt. 12: 38, 39; Lk. 11: 29).
- 6. "Anyone who exalts himself will be humbled, but one who humbles himself will be exalted" (Lk. 14: 11; Matt. 18: 4; Lk. 18: 14; Matt. 23: 12).
- 7. "Any man who divorces his wife to marry another woman commits adultery" (Mk. 10: 11, 12; Lk. 16: 18; Matt. 19: 9; Matt. 5: 32).
- 8. "Many who are first will be last, and many who are last will be first" (Mk. 10: 31; Matt. 19: 30; Lk. 13: 30; Matt. 20: 16).
- 9. "If you had faith the size of a mustard seed, you could say to this mountain, 'Move away from here,' and it would move, and nothing would be impossible for you" (Mk. 11: 22, 23; Matt. 21: 21; Lk. 17: 6; Matt. 17: 20).
- 10. "Be constantly watchful; for you cannot tell when the master of the house may come" (Mk. 13: 35; Matt. 24: 42; Lk. 12: 37; Matt. 25: 13).

THE BEST ATTESTED SAYING 1

"Anyone who aims to preserve his own self will lose his soul, but anyone who loses himself in the cause of the Gospel will find himself" (Mk. 8: 35; Lk. 9: 24; Matt. 16: 25; Lk. 17: 33; Matt. 10: 39; John 12: 25).

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

BOSWORTH, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 1-22.

BURCH, Ethical Teaching of the Gospels, pp. 13-16, 214-238.

BURTON, Teaching of Jesus, pp. 1-17.

CADBURY, Making of Luke-Acts, pp. 1-110.

GOODSPEED, The New Testament (Lk. 3-19), pp. 113-158.

Occurring six times in the Gospels.

HARNACK, The Sayings of Jesus.

KENT, The Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 1-33.

KING, Ethics of Jesus, pp. 33-108.

STREETER, The Four Gospels, pp. 149-198.

ZENOS, Plastic Age of the Gospel, pp. 27-34.

Chapter IX

THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF JESUS

THE SAYINGS OF JESUS—EARLIEST SOURCES

THE relation of the New Testament Gospels to one another has been determined by modern historical scholarship with clearness and certainty. The Gospel according to Mark was the first. It was written about the year 70. When Luke and Matthew were written, a few years later, they made large use of Mark, incorporating almost the entire Gospel.

A fact of great significance is that Luke and Matthew agree with similar wording not only in passages taken from Mark, but in a considerable number of other passages. Careful study makes it quite evident that Luke and Matthew used another source from which they supplemented what they took from Mark. This other source, variously called the "Logia," or "Q," is sometimes considered as two sources, "G" and "Pm." This material was not made up of incidents and narratives as in Mark, but consisted largely of sayings of Jesus. It is generally recognized by scholars that it was written at an earlier date than the Gospel according to Mark.

The analysis of the Gospels as given in Burton and Goodspeed Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, p. iv, is in part as follows: "I. Our second gospel . . . was employed as a source by both our first and third gospels. 2. Matthew and Luke also possessed in common a document containing the non-Marcan material now found in Luke 3: I to 9: 50. . . . For convenience it may be called 'G.' 3. Matthew and Luke possessed a third document consisting of the non-Marcan material now found in Luke 9: 5I to 19: 28. . . . The portion which was

used by Luke only and perhaps not in the hands of Matthew may be called Pl; the remainder Pm."

Other sources used by Matthew or Luke are also indicated by Burton and Goodspeed. This analysis brings out clearly the importance of this early material for the historical student. The whole growth of early Christian records and stories of Jesus falls into perspective. The Gospel of John is the latest of the New Testament gospels. Earlier than John is Matthew, then Luke, then Mark, then perhaps an earlier edition of Mark as reflected in Matthew and Luke, then the special Lukan source "Pl," then "Pm," then "G," then a few sayings found both in Mark and in "G" or "P" (doubly attested sayings), then the best attested saying found not only in all four Gospels, but also in the "Logia" (G and Pm). Thus the contents of the Gospels can be easily arranged in ten classes in numerical order of attestation: (1) the best-attested saying (occurring six times), (2) the doubly attested sayings (occurring four times or five times), (3) the document "G" (Matthew and Luke), (4) "Pm" (Matthew and Luke), (5) "Pl" (Luke), (6) the "triple tradition" (Matthew, Mark, Luke), (7) Mark, (8) Luke, (9) Matthew, (10) John. While this list is not complete, it serves to bring out the importance of distinction between the betterattested and the less-attested sayings and narratives.

The best-attested saying of Jesus comes very close to the heart of his religion—"Anyone who aims to preserve his own self will lose his soul; but anyone who loses himself in the cause of the gospel will find himself." The Greek word usually translated "life" (American Standard Version, "lose his life") naturally means the personality or the soul. It represents a word of the Jewish language usually translated "self" in the Old Testament. The Hebrew or Aramaic language had a far simpler vocabulary than the English has. Words of such multiple meaning were very common. The word "lose" does not represent the idea of death or destruction. It is the word used of the lost sheep in the famous parable. The same word is used of the coin which the woman lost and found again (Lk. 15:8). It is

the word used by the father regarding the prodigal son (Lk. 15: 32).

This saying of Jesus represents his protest against selfishness and his appeal to men and women to throw themselves, their souls, their personalities, their lives, into the service of all the members of the Father's great family, good and bad alike.

The doubly attested sayings all reflect various colors in which this central teaching reveals itself—"Anyone who wishes to be my disciple will practice self-denial and take up a cross." The cross represented not merely a burden, but a readiness to face death and persecution. "No one who lights a lamp puts it under a cover to hide it." This saying might have many applications. One of them certainly was Jesus' appeal to those who see the glory and beauty of the gospel of brotherhood, not to let the fire lie dormant, but to carry forth the torch to light the lives of countless needy ones.

"There is nothing that is covered up which is not going to come to light." Frankness and sincerity are essential; dissimulation and hypocrisy have no place in the religion of Jesus. "Anyone who has something will gain more." It is Jesus' encouragement to spiritual progress. The man who has no desire to be better will deteriorate; the one who has something of good in his soul will grow.

"It is a wicked age which demands a sign." Where there is real aspiration toward God and goodness, no external arguments are necessary. It is again Jesus' urge to simplicity of heart and spirituality of purpose. "Anyone who exalts himself will be humbled." Humility is a thorough-going characteristic of the religion of Jesus.

"Any man who divorces his wife to marry another woman commits adultery." Jesus' own sovereign, Herod Antipas, had done exactly this. Herod had particularly outraged Jewish feeling in that it was his own brother's wife whom he had carried away and married (Lev. 18: 16; Deut. 25: 5). John the

Baptist had reproved him for his action (Mk. 6: 18). John the Baptist had lost his life because of his reproof. Nevertheless, Jesus was not deterred from open denouncement of such utter selfishness as Herod had manifested.

"Many who are first will be last." Again Jesus encourages even the least of his followers to see their great significance in the realm of service. "If you had faith the size of a mustard seed" is one of Jesus' many paradoxical sayings. It must always have impelled the hearer to wonder what the meaning of it could be and to reflect on the power of faith. "Be constantly watchful." This saying reflects the urgency which characterizes true religious leaders. Jesus' disciples never stray from the path of duty in the idea that they will escape detection. They are constantly on guard. No matter when the call may come, they are ready to respond and to give a good account of themselves.

Thus the doubly-attested sayings reveal a religion of unselfish service, practicing self-denial, carrying its torch into the world, the torch of a sincere uprightness of purpose. Humility, purity, courage, faith, steadfast loyalty are qualities which in their application to the service of others bring the disciple of Jesus into a higher life and nearer to the presence of God.

Turning to the sayings of Jesus contained in the earliest sources "G" and "Pm," it is not hard to imagine the manner in which Jesus would attract a group of listeners in one village or another in Galilee. The so-called "Sermon on the Mount" reflects the common daily life of the people, where poverty and sorrow have constantly to be faced. When Jesus began "Happy are you poor folks," one and another would say to themselves with incredulous surprise, "He is talking to me!" Anyone who started out with words like those would be sure of a hearing. Jesus was no scribe sitting on Moses' seat. He had a sympathetic feeling for all human difficulties and handicaps. He was a messenger of hope to everyone who was poor or hungry or in sorrow, or friendless and persecuted.

¹ See Chapter IV.

"Love your enemies." The words were startling. They commanded attention and thought. They challenged discussion. "Say a prayer for those who abuse you." Here was a strange new idea. Could the teacher mean what he was saying? "If some one strikes you on the cheek, turn to him the other." Such a bit of advice the listener would find utterly impracticable. He would dismiss it from his mind. But it would not stay dismissed; it persisted in coming back.

What is the new teacher saying next? He is asserting that God lets his sun shine on both the good and the evil. He is kind to the unthankful and the bad. Jesus is urging his listeners to live like God in this matter of being full of loving-kindness toward all.

Those who heard Jesus went home full of doubts and objections. Yet something in their hearts responded to this ideal of brotherliness. It was something which they could easily put to the test. It required no investment of money, no political connection, no rabbinic education. It was too high for them to reach, yet the words were plain. One after another they tried it out. They began to substitute love for hate, kindness for violence. They felt themselves growing and coming nearer to God. The number increased until within a few months there were thousands who were finding new happiness and satisfaction in testing the religion of Jesus.

THE NATURE OF JESUS' RELIGION

Alas for you Pharisees who pay your tithes of mint and rue and every little herb and yet neglect justice and kindness. These are the things you ought to do without neglecting those lesser things (Lk. II: 42; Matt. 23: 23).

You neglect the will of God and keep the traditions of men (Mk. 7:9).

How shall I come before Jehovah and bow myself before him? Shall I come with burnt offerings? . . .

What doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly and to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God (Mic. 6: 6-8).

They watched Jesus to see whether he would cure the man on the Sabbath day so that they might have a ground of accusation against him (Mk. 3: 2).

No food which enters a man can defile him. . . . It is what proceeds out of the heart of a man which makes bad;— evil thoughts, immorality, stealing . . . greed, arrogance (Mk. 7: 19-22).

One of the scribes came . . . and asked him, "What commandment is chief of all?" Jesus replied "'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God' . . . and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'" (Lev. 19: 18; Mk. 12: 28-31).

Love your enemies and be constantly helpful and your reward will be great. You will in this way be sons of the Most High; he is kind to the unthankful and the bad. Be full of loving kindness as your Father above is loving and kind (Lk. 6: 35, 36; Matt. 5: 44, 45, 48).

The reading of the sayings of Jesus as given in the previous chapter will give a comprehensive view of Jesus' religion. The sayings should be studied carefully and reviewed many times. No amount of commentary can take the place of these utterances. The knowledge of the historical background and an intelligent reading of the sayings of Jesus in relation to that background should be complete in themselves.

So few of the sayings of Jesus have been preserved in our gospels that there is a strong tendency to scrutinize these sayings individually. But the utterances of Jesus themselves warn against any literalism in interpretation. They should be read in large sections and understood as vehicles for the new spirit of the time. They embody general principles and do not constitute a new law nor a revision of the Mosaic Law.

When the Jewish Christians first began to formulate the new religion which they set out to preach, they were naturally asked to state the difference between the new religion and the old. This accounts for the sharp distinction drawn in our Gospels between the law of Moses and the new Christian law. Jesus himself did not say that the old law was outworn, as Paul later said. Jesus did not denounce the Pharisees as a class, but did denounce those among them who were insincere or hypocritical or in some other way failed to live up to the spirit of the law.

There was a growing tendency in Jesus' day to bury the glorious heritage of the Hebrew prophets in a mass of legalistic traditions. These traditions which were later written down and which are represented by the quotations from the Mishnah in an earlier chapter were the object of Jesus' attack. Any tendency so to emphasize the keeping of the Sabbath as to obscure the duty or cause of mercy was quite opposed to the spirit of Jesus' religion.

In his little book, The Ethical Teaching of Jesus (p. 33), Scott says, "In Judaism as in all religions of the time ceremonial and ethical duties were placed on the same level." Again he says that Jesus "distinguished between the Sabbath law and the law of mercy, and insisted that when they were in conflict with each other the Sabbath law must always give way." This is true of Jesus, but is hardly fair to the Judaism of Jesus' day. It seems likely that many Jewish rabbis were insisting that the law of mercy take precedence over all other laws. Perhaps it would be better to say, as Scott does on another page, that Jesus was "out of sympathy with the whole spirit of legal religion." Jesus saw a great danger in the growing legalism of the Jews of his day. While he did not oppose the keeping of the law, he made such ritualism secondary.

In distinction from the legalistic spirit, Jesus emphasized the importance of heart righteousness. In this he was at one with some of the greatest of the Hebrew prophets, who said that the keeping of the law is of no avail unless accompanied by inner purity of soul. But Jesus went beyond the Hebrew prophets and beyond other leaders of his day among the Jews in making the inner uprightness of character primary and the keeping of the law secondary. It is what a man says and thinks and plans which profanes him more than any food he may eat in violation of the rules of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The Christian Church has always found it difficult to follow Jesus in this emphasis. From the first century to the twentieth century there have always been good, conscientious Christian leaders who have said that the Christian should first of all obey the commandments of Scripture. Jesus certainly was clear in his attitude on these matters. He did not denounce anyone for keeping the law of Moses, but he declared that the primary basis of acceptance with the heavenly Father is a brotherly spirit and a pure heart.

The nature of Jesus' religion is very different from that of legalism. He has left his followers no formal volume of teaching. He did not, like Mohammed, write a Koran. To be sure, Matthew sometimes gives the impression that Jesus revised the law of Moses and gave his followers a new set of rules for conduct. But in the earlier sources Jesus appears in a friendly, informal manner, cheering and comforting, encouraging and inspiring, those around him. He urged them to live up to their highest possibilities and to be worthy of the love and care which the heavenly Father was pouring out upon them.

He would often be asked some question as to how to pray or as to how many times to forgive a man for doing an injury. His answer would usually take the form of a story or a parable. The story would be easily remembered. Many a soul would be encouraged to pray by hearing the simple tale of the Pharisee and the publican (Lk. 18: 9-14). Many a man would be induced to forgive his brother by hearing the story of the unmerciful servant (Matt. 18: 21-35).

The records of Jesus' religion do not present any complete system. So far as we know, Jesus never attempted to gather together his various words of advice into any book of precepts.

It might even be said that his sayings are illustrations rather than directions, and that these illustrations fit the life of his time rather than any other period. But in these utterances the historical student can clearly see the greatness of Jesus' personality, can discern the stupendous grandeur of his idealism, can feel the unattainable heights of his communion with God, can appreciate the simple, direct way in which Jesus brought men and God nearer to one another.

All Jesus' ethical teaching was profoundly religious. There have been great ethical teachers, both ancient and modern, who have built up an ethical philosophy and program upon a purely human basis. They have demonstrated that man is a social being and that the best social life is attainable through certain rules of coöperation and brotherhood. Or they have demonstrated that the cultivation of the highest type of personal character is essential to the good social order. For Jesus, however, ethical practices were rooted in a religious experience. The religion of Jesus begins and ends in a personal sense of kinship to the eternal Spirit. When Jesus urged his listeners to do a kind act to the brother in need, he reminded them that the brother was one of the children of the great Father.

Jesus asked his followers to be worthy of their place as children of the heavenly Father. By this he meant that they should purify their hearts and minds and express themselves as the Father above expresses himself in the showering of countless blessings upon the great family of mankind. It is through this inner purity of soul and this outward expression of good that we enter into ever closer fellowship with that Spirit in the never-ending work of blessing humanity and bringing happiness to all, both good and bad, both near and far.

There is a modern tendency to say that the social gospel is all that man needs. Many a young person is unconsciously led into the attitude that religion is an aid to social morality, that the chief vindication of religion is in a better social order which it advocates. Some men even find their greatest inspiration in the patient courage of some other individual and so feel that there is no ultimate need of God. Surely, however, such men find sooner or later that the individual who gives the inspiration is in frequent communion with an unseen power.

In any case the religion of Jesus is not a social program, assisted by ritual and worship. It is a way to find God. Through forgiveness of injury the soul may rise; through purity of heart, character may be strengthened; through brotherliness and helpfulness, qualities of personality are developed which grow upward toward the ideal and the eternal.

SELF-DENIAL

Your Father above knows that you need these things. But seek first his kingdom and these other things will be yours besides (Lk. 12: 30, 31; Matt. 6: 32, 33).

May thy kingdom come. Give us each day our daily bread (Lk. 11: 3; Matt. 6: 11).

What would it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul (Mk. 8: 36).

Anyone who aims to preserve his own self will lose his soul; but anyone who loses himself in the cause of the kingdom will find himself (Mk. 8:35).

There is a widespread idea that the religion of Jesus is first and foremost a call to renounce the world and to deny oneself the natural ambitions and joys of life. There is little basis for this idea in the early records of Jesus' sayings. Those who try to find it there sometimes separate it from the more important supplementary idea of the devotion of life in all its aspects to the supreme purpose of preparation for the kingdom of God.

"Anyone who wishes to be my disciple will practice self-denial and take up a cross and follow after me" (Mk. 8: 34). This saying taken out of its context and placed by itself could be made a basis for a teaching of extreme asceticism. Mediæval

monks felt they were fulfilling this rule of Jesus when they left home and friends and property. They denied themselves every conceivable comfort, even in matters of food and clothing. They literally carried a cross upon a chain or band around the neck. They tried to "follow" Jesus literally by walking along the road from place to place, as Jesus did.

The ascetic and monastic movements so important in the history of the Church did not come from Jesus. In modern times the religions of India disclose the real home of such practices. In ancient times Oriental philosophies made their way westward into the Roman Empire and had strong influences through Gnosticism upon various branches of the Christian Church. Asceticism perhaps had gained some acceptance among the Jews. John the Baptist is described in terms which might mean that he had renounced the world. In Mark 2: 18, there is a reference to fasting practiced by John's disciples and by the Pharisees.

But Jesus' disciples did not fast (Mk. 2: 18). "John came not eating or drinking like others, and you say 'He has a bad spirit.' Now the son of man has come, eating and drinking like others, and you say, 'There is a glutton and a drinker, a friend of tax-collectors and worldly people'" (Lk. 7: 33, 34; Matt. 11: 18). Jesus did not regard either fasting or eating as having any independent value. Self-denial may be either good or bad, according to the purpose prompting it. The kingdom of God is like "a merchant looking for precious pearls; and having found one pearl of great value, he went and sold all that he had and bought it" (Matt. 13: 45, 46). Material possessions are the lesser pearls of life's store, but may be of great value in making it possible to secure the one pearl of great price.

The Father above knows that his children have need of the necessities of life (Matt. 6: 32). The Lord's Prayer recognizes the need of food for our daily living. But spiritual values are of greater importance. It would be of little use for a man to accumulate earthly possessions even to the point of gaining the whole world, if in so doing he lost his own soul.

A much misunderstood saying of Jesus suggests that it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eve than for a rich man to find the higher life (Mk. 10: 25). Of course, Jesus did not mean that God has any prejudices against rich men, as such; for he is good to all alike. If the context of the saying is read, it is apparent that Jesus said this with reference to a particular rich man who had just come to him and who had found it extremely difficult to follow Jesus' words to go and give to the poor. The rich man "went away sorrowful." It is possible that the "needle's eye" was the name of one of the gates of Jerusalem which a camel disliked because in order to pass through it he had to get upon his knees. In any case, Jesus' observation fitted the case of the man about whom it was originally stated. It would also fit any one who finds it difficult to enter into that close sympathy with his fellow men which alone can make a man truly great.

Self-denial is a means to an end. Brotherly helpfulness, the devotion of all to the welfare of others, constitutes the higher good, to which all lesser things must be brought into subjection. The one who makes it his rule of life to cater to his own comfort and fulfill all his personal desires will lose his soul. It is through the giving of all one's capacities and possessions to the higher ambition that a man will truly find himself.

The relation of self-denial to social service has been a matter of much discussion. Many modern social leaders claim, as Plato did in ancient days, that the good of the individual must always be subordinated to the good of the group. Such thinkers conceive of a society perfected through the contribution of each of its members. If every act of every individual has in view the good of all, then the result must be completely good.

This attitude, however, is not at all that of Jesus. He had no such social program. As will be stated in a later chapter, Jesus expected the coming of the kingdom, and he left to God the plans for the inauguration of that new social order. Jesus was chiefly concerned in preparing men and women for that great day when it should come. His interest was in the individual

soul. Jesus called upon his disciples to devote all to the service of others, not because he wished to subordinate the individual to the community, but because he knew that service was the secret of growth. He taught men how to develop their highest and best selves.

The religion of Jesus has become the greatest power in the world for social service. This is because it fosters the highest type of individual character. Of what use would a perfect social order be if the individuals of which it was composed were only commonplace mortals? Many of the lower animals have a well-developed order of society. The level of life of the group depends upon the character of attainments of the individuals in it. Jesus was very close to the heart of life in his insistence upon the development of the highest type of personal character.

FEAR AND TRUST

Do not worry about your life, fretting as to what food you are going to eat or about your body as to what clothes you are going to wear. Your life is more important than what you wear. Look at the birds of the air, they do not even plant fields or reap harvests; they have no storehouses or barns; yet the Father above gives them food. You are of far greater value than the birds.

Will worry help any one of you to add a single hour to his life? If worry cannot help you in the least, what use is there in it?

Learn a lesson from the lilies of the field (Lk. 12: 22-27; Matt. 6: 25-28).

One of the obstacles in the way of human progress through the centuries has been fear. People of backward countries are still in modern times largely controlled by motives of fear. They are afraid of lightning, thunder, darkness. They are terrified by eclipses, volcanic eruptions, and other unusual occurrences. Many primitive religions are based upon the ineradicable sense of fear and superstition. Awe, for instance, makes Oriental mothers sacrifice babies to some river god, whom they think may otherwise visit them with disease or plague or famine.

Caution and foresight, however, are virtues of the highest order. It is a certain kind of useless fear, carried to extreme, which men share with the lower animals. The finest type of horse is seized with fear when its stable catches fire, not a fear which makes him seek safety, but a fear which makes it almost impossible for him to be rescued from danger.

Human beings are often subject to similar panic in times of sudden catastrophe. It is this sort of fear which the religion of Jesus aims to remove from human life. Jesus had no fear which in any way interfered with his usefulness. He did not shrink from death itself. His ministry stands out as the clearest example in history of the fearless life.

A particularly destructive expression of fear is found in the highest and best civilization of modern times. In the life of our large cities, the individual is pursued and harassed by an enemy known as "worry." The hospital patient who is to undergo an operation is driven by anxiety into such a state of mind as often to endanger the success of the operation. The man who cannot pay his rent begins to lie awake at night. And often the man who is financially solvent makes his life unhappy by worry about his social status.

The religion of Jesus has no place for worry. It eliminates fear and anxiety. If even the birds of the sky and the flowers of the field thrive in the course of nature, what rational basis can there be for thinking that God will not take care of his human family? Jesus very strongly asserts the need of caution and foresight. In the parable of the talents, his denunciation of the man who laid away his talent and failed to improve his opportunity is unmistakable. The ten virgins were five of them prudent and watchful, while the other five were shortsighted and

unprepared. The unjust steward was commended for his clever foresight.

Jesus' teaching is not that we should let the future take care of itself, but that we should not let undue anxiety interfere with the concentration of all our best on the present task and the larger program. It should be noted, too, that Jesus does not tell the sluggard or the self-centered man not to worry. Jesus speaks to those who have turned their abilities to a high and noble purpose. He never encourages laziness or lack of thrift.

When Jesus states in what seems an absolute and extreme way that the Father will take care of his children, he is not saying that the children need not do anything for themselves. He is rather expressing the attitude and state of mind in which the children may undertake to work out their own salvation. Men need not be afraid that God is working against them. They may rather feel that there is an abundance of good things in the natural resources of life. Men are surrounded by abundant opportunities for growth and happiness.

These beliefs of Jesus are in striking contrast to the attitude of many ancient philosophers toward nature. Thus the philosophy of Plato was gradually developed into a dualism which sometimes conceived of life as a great struggle between the spirit of God dwelling in men, and the contrary element existing in a hostile world. But Jesus taught his followers to be friends with nature. To be sure, he expressed very strongly the value of work and service and effort. But he also made men see the great value of occasional relaxation. The functions of the human body soon deteriorate unless they have relaxation as well as exercise.

Trust in the heavenly Father is one of the greatest truths and necessities of the largest life. It does away with unnecessary worry and anxiety. It enables men and women to develop the highest and finest qualities of which they are capable in an increasingly favorable environment.

RESISTING EVIL

Love your enemies, do a kindness for those who hate you, say a prayer for those who abuse you (Lk. 6: 27, 28; Matt. 5: 44).

If anyone takes something of yours, do not demand it back (Lk. 6: 30; Matt. 5: 42).

Do not pass judgment on others (Lk. 6: 37; Matt. 7: 1).

One of the most widely discussed questions about Jesus has to do with his attitude toward war. The answer is clear. Jesus said nothing directly on the subject. Jesus addressed himself to the people and conditions of his time. The only nation against whom the Jews could have declared war in that day was the Roman Empire. If Jesus ever said anything about war with Rome, it was, of course, to advise against such a war, which could have only one possible ending—the destruction of Jerusalem. Simkovitch in his admirable little book on Jesus has brought out with great clearness the political situation which was the background of anything Jesus might have said about political non-resistance.

One or two passages found in the Gospel of Matthew have been made into a teaching of universial pacifism. "He who takes the sword will perish by the sword" (Matt. 26: 52). It is doubtful whether the words should be taken out of their context and applied to other situations than the one for which they were spoken.

On many occasions Jesus allowed himself to be injured or insulted without retaliating. In fact, it is clear that Jesus never answered a personal injury by the use of force. In the case of the cleansing of the temple, his use of violence was not to avenge any personal injury, but to right a wrong which he discovered. Such a scene as that in the temple gives a vigorous impression of the physical presence of Jesus. Bruce Barton,

in his little book entitled *The Young Man's Jesus* has portrayed him as muscular, athletic, and imposing. There is no doubt that Christian art has overdrawn the feature of non-resistance in portraying his appearance.

Nevertheless, it is certain that Jesus told his listeners to love their enemies and to do a kindness for those who hated them. He told them to return good for evil. Scott, in his book, has an interesting paragraph on this subject. He says that the rule of not returning evil for evil has "been now incorporated in the customs of all civilized nations. It is recognized that however grievously a man has been injured, he must not retaliate for himself. The world has gradually discovered that when once the right of private revenge is granted, the door is thrown open to all kinds of evil and injustice. Nothing in the teaching of Jesus has been so often ridiculed as his precept of non-resistance; yet all experience has proved its wisdom" (Ethical Teaching of Jesus, p. 72).

Jesus' teaching against personal revenge, like that regarding self-denial, is not to be understood by itself, but only in relation to the more important ideal of doing good to all, both friend and enemy. "Love your enemies, do a kindness for those who hate you." To return evil for evil is only to increase the amount of hatred and hostility. The true way to overcome and banish evil is through kindness, forbearance, and brotherhood. This higher ideal of Jesus is the subject of a later chapter.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Anyone who does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother (Mk. 3: 35).

Any man who has left house or wife or brethren or parents or children for the sake of the kingdom of God will receive many times as much in this world and will inherit eternal life (Lk. 22: 30; Mk. 10: 29; Matt. 19: 29).

Any man who divorces his wife and marries another

woman commits adultery (Lk. 16: 18; cf. Matt. 5: 32).

To the married I give advice, not I but the Lord; let not the wife depart from her husband, but if she depart, let her remain unmarried (I Cor. 7: 10, 11).

And some Pharisees were asking him if it is right for a husband to divorce his wife. . . . Moses permitted a man to write a statement and send his wife away. This rule was written in consequence of your hardness of heart. . . . Let not a man separate what God has joined together (Mk. 10: 2-9).

There are many sayings in the Gospels which have been interpreted as meaning that Jesus regarded marriage as something inferior to the higher state of a celibate life. These are, for the most part, passages in which Jesus is emphasizing a spiritual ideal of placing God and his kingdom above all other interests of life, even one's own home and family. Jesus himself did not marry. His rapid, active ministry, with its dangerous and its tragic end, left little opportunity for home life.

But there is little basis for the idea that Jesus in any way disapproved of marriage or of married life. He speaks in the highest terms of the sanctity of the marriage tie. He looked with profound disapproval upon the easy divorce customs of his time. In the days of Moses it had been customary for a man to send his wife back home without any explanation or apology. The legislation of Moses introduced a new era in the history of marriage, by requiring the husband to write out a statement and give it to her (Deut. 24: 1) when he sent her away. She was then given a definite status and had a legal right to marry another man.

In the time of Jesus there was much feeling that even such a written statement from the husband was not sufficient. There should be some sort of official understanding in the matter, and some recognition of the growing feeling that marriage had more sanctity in it than the mere passing whim of a husband.

What Jesus most seriously opposed was such an action as that of Herod Antipas, who fell in love with another woman and proceeded to send home his own wife. Then, because John the Baptist objected, Herod had yielded to the plea of Herodias and given the order for the execution of that noble prophet of righteousness.

It is evident that Jesus was suggesting a great principle, rather than laying down any arbitrary rule. Jesus believed the institution of marriage to be a holy and beautiful one and that it was being flagrantly abused. There has been much discussion regarding the meaning of the "doubly attested" saying of Jesus regarding marriage. Taken literally, it means that anyone who "sends away his wife and marries another"—that is, anyone who not only divorces his wife but marries again—has broken the Mosaic Law. In other words, it is remarriage rather than divorce which Jesus opposed. This is the sense in which Paul applied the rule of Jesus in the situation at Corinth.

Perhaps Jesus was not so much condemning either the divorce or the remarriage as the combination of the two in a divorce secured for the immediate purpose of remarriage. But to insist upon any exact application of Jesus' rule is to become a literalist like the scribes whom Jesus denounced. The spirit of Jesus' attitude stands out clearly above all such discussion. It was a part of his religion to inculcate a greater reverence toward the love of man and wife.

The Gospel of Matthew introduces an element not found in the other Gospels. Any man who sends his wife away, "except for unchastity" (Matt. 19: 9; 5: 32), is a trespasser. This addition of Matthew's reflects a period in the early Church when Christians were trying to find exact rules of conduct in the sayings of Jesus. To them it seemed that Jesus must have made such an exception to his rule against divorce. The exception is not in accord with the spirit of Jesus nor in accord with his manner of expression. He spoke in general principles, not in exact rules. Surely the modern mind can rise above this

ancient pre-Christian and un-Christian idea and attitude (cf. John 8: 1-11).

The mutual love of man and wife will, in the spirit of Jesus, be exalted higher and higher with the passing centuries. All sorts of changes in marriage laws and in divorce laws may occur. Some of them may be good and some may be bad, but all those which tend to enthrone the mutual love of man and woman as a God-given blessing are in the spirit of Jesus.

PERSONAL CHARACTER

There is nothing that is covered up which is not going to come to light (Lk. 8: 17).

Do not swear either by heaven . . . or by earth . . . but let your speech be "yes" and "no" (Matt. 5: 34, 37).

When you are invited to a banquet do not take the best seat . . . but when you are invited, go and take the lowest place so that your host may be able to say to you "My friend, come up higher" (Lk. 14: 8, 10).

Because you have been found faithful in a small matter, you will have authority over ten cities (Lk. 19: 17).

The one who is faithful in a small matter is faithful also in a large one (Lk. 16: 10).

A healthy tree does not produce bad fruit, nor does a bad tree yield good fruit (Lk. 6: 43; Matt. 7: 18).

Seek first his kingdom and his righteousness (Lk. 12: 31; Matt. 6: 33).

Jesus insists that sincerity is a primary quality in personal character. The doubly attested saying, "There is nothing that is covered up which is not going to come to light," is only one of his many utterances to this effect. There is scarcely any sin which Jesus denounces so often and so sharply as hypocrisy. Any falsehood of character such as he observed in some of the

Pharisees was for him intolerable. One who pretends to be good when he is not and who misleads himself into thinking that he is God's favorite is sinning against the very spirit of goodness. Such an attitude is "unpardonable" (Mk. 3: 29).

"If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is the darkness!" It is a further development of the insistence of the Old Testament prophets upon the need of heart righteousness in winning Jehovah's favor. Religion is not a matter of external acts or ceremonies so much as a cultivation of noble character. The Beatitude, "Blessed are the pure in heart," (Matt. 5: 8; Psa. 24: 4) has primary reference, both in Jesus' thought and in the Psalm, to this same quality of sincerity and purity of purpose and action.

To be truly sincere, moreover, a man should avoid every sort of falsehood and lie. The commandment, Thou shalt not tell a lie, is a decidedly modern commandment. The ancient Spartans are said to have considered it far better to lie than to be caught in an act of stealing. Lying was and still is so common in the Orient that the custom is that when a man wishes to convince his listener that he is telling the truth, he swears by heaven (Gal. 1: 20) or by some other sacred object that he is not lying. Jesus carried his teaching of sincerity to such an extreme that he begged his followers to avoid all such swearing and to answer questions with a simple "yes" or "no" (Matt. 5: 34, 37).

Humility is another basic quality in Jesus' ideal of personal character. A Pharisee who publicly gave thanks to God that he was not like other men (Lk. 18: 11) did not win God's favor by any such prayer. It is the man who recognizes his own shortcomings, the man who has ideals which reach out far ahead and above him, the man who is humble in the presence of great ideals, who is the more likely to grow and improve.

This teaching of Jesus has been misrepresented and misunderstood as much as any other. Jesus had no place in his religion for an inferiority complex. A man or a woman who suffers from such a misfortune may find in the religion of Jesus the best cure for such a condition. Jesus never tells anyone to consider himself inferior to any of his fellows. Even in the presence of kings and governors, early Christians held their heads and hearts strongly and courageously. Scott has put the gist of the matter in a single sentence when he says "The humility which Jesus demands is humility towards God." Humility is for Jesus primarily a religious attitude. It is a recognition that there are higher ideals of living to which men have not yet attained.

The Beatitude of Matt. 5: 5, "Blessed are the meek," has often been interpreted to mean that meekness is a Christian virtue. This interpretation is guilty of three errors. In the first place, the word "meek" in its modern connotation is not a good translation. Goodspeed translates "humble-minded," Moffatt translates "the humble." Humility is one of the elements in the character of the world's greatest leaders. Washington and Lincoln, Jesus and Paul, were all examples of the power and blessing of humility. The second error lies in the assumption that the beatitudes were in praise of certain qualities. This is perhaps true in the Gospel of Matthew, but according to Luke the Beatitudes, at least some of them, had a more direct application to actual existing conditions in Palestine, "Blessed are you who are poor" (Lk. 6: 20) did not, of course, mean that poverty was a blessing, but meant rather that Jesus was addressing himself to poor people and exhorting them to hope for a blessing in the future. In this sense, Jesus may have promised blessing to the humble-minded. The third error is in failing to understand that "the meek" is a common phrase in the Old Testament and refers to a particular class or group of God's people. The Beatitude of Matthew is, in fact, a direct quotation from Psalm 37: 11 in which the psalmist sings of the glorious future in store for God's favorite ones.

There is, in fact, in the religion of Jesus a dynamic quality which develops personality to the greatest extent. He never calls on anyone to dwarf his own personality. The spirit of

¹ Ethical Teaching, p. 104.

Jesus rather makes a man understand that he is a child of God with an eternal destiny and that the world is a workshop in which character can be developed and enlarged until it is fitted for the larger plans which God has in store for his human family.

It is often asserted, furthermore, that the universally admired characteristic of bravery or personal valor is neglected in Jesus' religion. Here again is a fundamental error. Jesus, to be sure, did not encourage his disciples to take up the sword to bring the kingdom to pass. The bravery of his followers was not of the destructive type, and was, therefore, all the more courageous. He frequently told his disciples to fear no man, and in face of danger, to go out to heal and to help and to save.

Courage is a primary quality of the Christian religion, a courage which leads men in modern times into the laboratory of science to risk health and life in pursuit of a cure for some human affliction. It is this same courage which sends men into all the countries and races of the earth, to build up a better type of manhood and womanhood. This personal valor is the keynote again in that best-attested saying of Jesus, "He who tries to preserve his own life will lose his soul, but the one who gives his life to the cause of the gospel will find himself" (Mk. 8: 35).

Faithfulness and loyalty comprise another element in personal character which the religion of Jesus develops. Many are the sayings and the stories in the Gospels which portray this virtue. The man who performs his task conscientiously wins the favor of his heavenly father. No matter how small the responsibility may be, it is the quality of fidelity which is all-important. In other words, it is not primarily the work which a man does, but rather the strength of personality developed, which is important. The parable of the pounds and the parable of the talents have the same teaching—that he who is faithful in a small matter is considered in God's sight to be worthy of large responsibility in the kingdom of God.

The development of personal character is thus the end of

all these qualities which Jesus taught and practiced. Through all the history of the Christian religion great leaders have again and again emphasized this truth. As Luther declared, "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works." Jesus stated it in a picture: A bad tree does not bear good fruit; it takes a healthy tree to bear good fruit. Jesus' ministry was devoted not to teaching a new religion, but to developing in his disciples a type of character which would cause them to go out among others and duplicate in them this same exalted type of personality. Herein lies the reason for Jesus' emphasis on the value of the individual soul in the sight of God. His teaching was directed to no social program in the usual sense of the term. He felt that the great need is to develop the highest type of individual. He did not set about this task in the way in which the Greeks undertook it. He did not keep men's eyes upon an earthly goal when instructing them in the building of better characters. Rather he endeavored to live in close communion with the Eternal Spirit who has in store for men a better future.

Jesus' approach to the development of individual personality is distinctly religious. He led men to find God and to prepare themselves for his kingdom. Particularly did he react against the common idea of his day that God keeps a record of deeds and misdeeds, that he will reward or punish according to the record which shows on his ledger. It is significant that in the scene of the great judgment (Matt. 25: 31 ff.), the righteous are greatly surprised when the judge highly commends them. They have been living godly lives but have not been counting their credits. The ideal of the religion of Jesus is not that of building up a life of credit, piece by piece, but the development of character which does good spontaneously. The true follower of Jesus works not for fear of hell or hope of heaven. He works not for reward, but unconsciously, easily. Because he is God's son, he lives the life of God's kingdom.

Such a life is the pearl of great price. The life of the age-to-come lived here and now. This life of the age-to-come is not

easy to attain. It is through constant and persistent prayer that Jesus attained to his consciousness of that higher order. His thought was that if men could only all now live the life of the perfect brotherhood, the great reward would at once be realized. This teaching is the "Gospel," the Good News. Jesus urged his disciples to tell it to all men and give them this vision of a kingdom already coming to pass and near at hand.

In establishing contact with this life of the age-to-come and in maintaining close communion with the heavenly Father's plan for his children, prayer becomes an essential element and assumes an important part.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Bosworth, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 81-165.
Bundy, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 62-104.
Burch, Ethical Teaching of the Gospels, pp. 160-188.
Burton, Teaching of Jesus, pp. 45-174.
Glover, The Jesus of History, pp. 63-86.
Kent, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 122-141.
King, Ethics of Jesus, pp. 152-190.
McCown, The Genesis of the Social Gospel, pp. 245-291.
Scott, The Ethical Teaching of Jesus, pp. 22-41, 51-119.
Simkovitch, Toward the Understanding of Jesus, pp. 1-83.
Walker, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 225-307.
Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. I, pp. 325-364.
Zenos, Plastic Age of the Gospel, pp. 49-64.

Chapter X

THE PRAYER LIFE OF JESUS

PRAYER IN A WORLD OF SCIENCE

WITH the advance of modern civilization, many thoughtful leaders are agreed that in the tendency toward a mechanical and routine existence there lurks a great danger to the individual. A man becomes a part of a great business into which he fits himself, he performs his appointed task during the day, he eats the foods which are set in front of him, he often spends his evenings in whatever commercialized amusements confront him most persuasively.

Individual character and personality are the hope of the human race. Without these there can be no real progress. The ultimate brotherhood of man and the perfected society are but idle dreams unless individual consciences are awakened and great souls are developed. This ideal of progress in personal character can only be attained by a definite effort on the part of each individual to detach himself repeatedly from the machinery of his daily duties. He must form the habit of spending a portion of his time in thoughtful consideration of his own place and worth in the universe.

If he has no vital knowledge of God, he may spend this time of detachment in analyzing his own thoughts and ideals of service and happiness. If his God is evolution, he may devote himself for a while each day to contemplating the accomplishments of humanity from the time of its first animal-like existence to its culmination in the scientific discoveries and social attainments of the present. If his God is nature, he may think of mountain tops and rushing streams, or his soul may travel

among the stars in the vastness of the universe. If to him God is a transcendent spirit who comes close to human hearts, he will spend his time in communion with that spirit which has lighted the souls of great men in every age. If he is a Christian in thought as well as name, he will find this spirit supremely revealed in the personality of Jesus.

"Religion is inner life," says Deissmann.¹ "It brings forth a rich life . . . it enriches culture . . . it is a living and moving in God . . . it is always a communion of man with his God." Without such communion, our civilization and culture must become a mere mechanism which will soon stop for lack of fuel and power. Such an idea of prayer not only belongs in a world of science; it is an indispensable part of it.

When a man prays, he naturally gives expression to those elements of character which are a part of his ideal but lacking or imperfect in his own life. His prayer sometimes takes the form of a petition, "Give me more patience," or, "Help me to be of greater service." It is important to notice that such petitions are not superstitious appeals for personal comfort, but are attempts of the soul to attain a higher life through communion with God. Since prayer often takes the form of petition, much misunderstanding of its true character and value in modern life has resulted. But such misunderstandings are rapidly clearing away. There is no longer any place for doubt that prayer rightly understood is a fundamental essential of character and progress.

Jesus once said, "When you pray, go into your own room and shut the door" (Matt. 6: 6). One man puts this into practice frequently when he goes into a busy Chicago railroad station. While he waits for his train to take him to his suburban home, he finds a corner in the waiting-room and puts a newspaper in front of him. The newspaper is a closed door to the outside world and the man finds a new power in a few minutes of fellowship with Jesus and, through Jesus, with God.

In a recent classroom discussion, one student defined prayer

The Religion of Jesus, p. 43.

as a charging of the battery of the soul through contact with the infinite God. This figure has in it much of truth, but the class put it in second place when another student contributed his definition. "Prayer," he said, "is a tuning-in of the radio of the soul, to catch the music and message of the eternal."

JESUS' PERSONAL PRAYERS

After Jesus' baptism, while he was praying, the heavens opened and the Holy Spirit came down upon him (Lk. 3: 21).

Early in the morning, before daylight, Jesus got up and went out and found a lonely spot and prayed there (Mk. 1: 35).

After he had taken leave of them, he went up to pray (Mk. 6: 46).

Taking the five loaves and the two fishes, Jesus looked up to Heaven and gave thanks (Mk. 6: 41; Matt. 14: 19. Cf. Mk. 8: 6; 14: 22; Matt. 26: 26; Lk. 24: 30).

Great crowds came together to listen to him; ... but he himself used to retire to lonely places to pray (Lk. 5: 16).

The rabbis and Pharisees became angry and excited; they began discussing what they could do to Jesus. It was then that he went up in the mountain to pray and to spend the whole night in prayer with God (Lk. 6: 11, 12).

Once when Jesus was praying in a lonely spot, his disciples with him, he asked them "Who do people say that I am?" (Lk. 9: 18.)

Jesus went up the mountain to pray, taking Peter, John, and James with him. While he was praying the appearance of his face became quite different, and his clothing took on a dazzling whiteness. . . . Peter and his companions had been overpowered by sleep and

they awoke and saw his glorious appearance (Lk. 9: 28, 29, 32).

When the seventy-two returned, they were very happy... Jesus said, "I have had a vision of Satan fallen like a flash of lightning"... Jesus said, "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth" (Lk. 10: 17, 21).

"Simon, Simon, Satan has demanded to sift you all like wheat, but I have prayed for you personally, that your own faith should not fail" (Lk. 22: 31, 32).

They came to the Garden of Gethsemane. "Sit here," said Jesus to his disciples, "while I go and pray." Going on a short distance, he kneeled down and prayed: "Abba [Father] all things are possible with thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will but what thou wilt" (Lk. 22: 39-42).

Jesus cried out, "My God, my God, Why hast thou forsaken me?" (Psa. 22: 1; Mk. 15: 34.)

Then Jesus called with a loud voice, "Father, into thy hands I intrust my spirit" (Psa. 31:5; Lk. 23:46).

Prayer was an essential part of the Jewish religion of Jesus' day. Jesus learned to pray from his earliest years. The first chapter of Mark describes how Jesus, rising long before daylight, found a lonely spot and prayed there. It was evidently a practice which he frequently followed. Often in that mountainous country he climbed up nearer heaven to spend a while talking and listening to his God (Mk. 6: 46). On some occasions he spent the whole night in prayer (Lk. 6: 12).

The story of the transfiguration is full of suggestion regarding the effect of prayer upon Jesus. As we read Mark's account we can almost hear Peter narrating to his early Christian audiences the remarkable occurrence: While he was praying the appearance of his face changed, assuming a heavenly

grandeur. And his very clothing seemed to be whiter because of that glory.

Luke has preserved for us more records of the prayers of Jesus than Matthew or Mark. From the beginning of the ministry to the end, he tells of the rich prayer life of Jesus. It was while Jesus was praying at the time of his baptism that he saw the heaven open, heard the voice of God and received his spirit. At the time of the feeding of the multitude, he looked up to heaven and gave thanks. Whenever the crowds gathered, he talked to them for a while, but after the talk, he retired to a lonely place for personal communion with his heavenly Father (Lk. 5: 16).

At every decisive turning-point in his career he took time for prayer. When the question confronted him in regard to messiahship, "Who do people say that I am?" he was found praying with his disciples (Lk. 9: 18). How anxious must have been Jesus' thought for the seventy-two when he sent them out to try their hand at preaching and healing! How full of joy was his prayer upon their return, "I thank thee, Oh Father!" (Lk. 10: 21.) How earnest was his prayer for Simon—would Satan win him or would Simon become the chief apostle? (Lk. 22: 31.)

The prayers of the last hours reveal the darkest depths of Jesus' agony and display the sublime quality of his heroism. In Jesus' prayers Mark has preserved the original Aramaic word for Father. It is probably the most expressive single word in the Bible. Peter must have heard Jesus say "Abba" with such remarkable depth and feeling of tone that Peter himself learned how to repeat the word to others with something of the religious meaning which Jesus gave. Mark heard Peter use the word and has passed it on to all succeeding generations of Christians. Jesus' prayer to his Father in Gethsemane is not one in which he seeks to escape the Father's will, but one in which he seeks to know that will and bring himself into harmony with it.

The prayers upon the cross are the final revelation of his

closeness to God and of his victory over suffering and death. "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" As Deissmann has well said, Jesus did not create the words of this prayer. It is a quotation from a familiar Psalm. Nevertheless, it shows that Jesus addressed God even in a time when it seemed as though God had forsaken him. The prayer is not even a petition. "This prayer, with its elementary burden of need, accomplishes more than a hundred comfortable theses against the reasonableness of prayer. This prayer teaches prayer . . . it teaches that communion with God signifies a struggle for God—a struggle between God-nearness and God-forsakenness." In this fierce struggle, Jesus emerged victor. His victory is voiced in his final prayer, "Father, into thy hands I intrust my spirit."

The beauty and power of the prayer life can be learned through fellowship with Jesus. In prayer, Jesus communes with his God as a child talks with his father. The prayer may express any attitude which the child may have toward his father. It may be a quiet petition, a passionate supplication, a shout of joy, or a cry of pain. Prayer is for Jesus a holy and personal matter. The world is not permitted to listen to it. There is nothing magical about it. It is a marvelous, powerful remedy. It heals the sick soul, it gives patience and courage, it inspires with insight and vision and it results in victory and beauty of life.

JESUS' TEACHING REGARDING PRAYER

Jesus said to them, "What will happen if one of you who has a friend goes to him in the middle of the night and says, 'Friend, lend me three loaves, a friend of mine has just arrived at my house from a journey and I have nothing to set before him'? The other may answer from inside, 'Do not disturb me now; the door is locked and my children are in bed with me. I cannot

¹ Deissmann, Religion of Jesus, p. 62.

get up and give you anything.' I tell you, even if he will not get up and give him anything because he is a friend, yet if the demands are persistent, he will get up and give him all that is needed" (Lk. II: 5-8).

Jesus gave them a story to illustrate the need of persistence in prayer and of never becoming discouraged. "There was in a certain city a judge who had no fear of God or regard for men. In the city there was a widow who used to come to him with her petition, "Give me justice against my opponent." And he was not willing for a while, but later he said to himself, "Even though I do not fear God or regard men, yet because this widow makes so much trouble for me, I will see that she gets a hearing, so that she will not wear me out with her visits" (Lk. 18: 1–5).

Two men went into the court of the temple to pray. One was a Pharisee and the other a tax collector. The Pharisee stood up straight and prayed to himself in this way. "God, I render thanks to thee that I am not like the rest of the people, greedy, dishonest, impure, like this tax-collector. I fast twice each week, I give a tenth of all I gain."

The tax collector, standing at a distance, could not even raise his eyes to heaven, but struck upon his breast, saying, "God, have mercy on this sinner." This man, I tell you, went home with God's approval rather than the other; for everyone who lifts himself up will be humbled, but the man who humbles himself will find himself exalted" (Lk. 18: 9–14).

When you pray, do not imitate the hypocrites who like to pray standing in the synagogues and in public places, for others to see them. I assure you that is the only reward they will obtain. When you pray, go into your own room and shut the door and pray to your Father quietly, and your Father who sees what is within, will recompense you.

When you pray, do not use the same empty phrases over and over, as many peoples do who imagine that they get a hearing by using many words. Do not be like them, for your God, who is your Father, knows what you need before you ask him (Matt. 6: 5-8).

This sort of demon can be expelled only through prayer (Mk. 9: 29. Cf. Mk. 7: 34 and Matt. 26: 53).

Ask and you will receive, search and you will find, knock and a door will open to you, for it is the one who asks who receives, and the one who searches who finds, and the one who knocks to whom a door opens. What father among you, if his son asks for a fish, will give him a snake, or if he asks for an egg, will give him a scorpion? In the same way, if you, bad as you are, know enough to give good things to your children, how much more surely will your Father above give the Holy Spirit to those who pray to him (Lk. II: 9–I3).

Have faith in God. I assure you, if anyone should say to this mountain, remove and hurl yourself into the sea, and would not have any doubt in his heart but believe that what he says will happen, it would be so for him. Therefore I tell you, have faith that whatever you ask for in prayer, you have received, and it will be yours.

And whenever you stand and pray, forgive anything you have against anyone, so that your Father above may forgive you your shortcomings (Mk. 11: 22-25; I Cor. 13: 2).

If your faith were even as a mustard seed, you could say to this mulberry tree, be uprooted and planted in the sea, and it would obey you (Lk. 17: 6).

Not merely prayer, but persistence in prayer is an essential of the religion of Jesus. The parable of the friend who came at midnight to ask for bread (Lk. 11: 5-8) has been frequently misunderstood. It has been made to mean that in

some cases God is at first unwilling to grant a petition, but after much imploring finally yields and grants the request. As pointed out before, however, in presenting a parable Jesus always has in mind one particular point which he wishes to teach. The context of this parable indicates that Jesus is illustrating the effectiveness of persistence in prayer. The teaching is that the more a man associates with the Eternal Spirit, the more power and beauty of soul will be his.

The story of the unprincipled judge who turned a deaf ear to the widow's case (Lk. 18: 1-5) is similar. It should not be called the story of the judge, but the story of the pleading widow. Many of these stories are autobiographical. Jesus poured out his soul to God, not only in Gethsemane and on the cross, but all through his life. He begs his disciples to have as great an earnestness in their prayers as he had in his, the same burning desire for nobility of life and for the establishment of human brotherhood as this widow had for her cause. Such passionate communion with God regenerates the soul so that it is created and re-created in the image of God.

The parable of the Pharisee and the tax-collector is one of the gems of religious literature. Unforgettable is Jesus' portrayal of the Pharisee who stands in his prominent place in the temple and gives thanks that he is better than other men. He is not seeking anything and does not receive anything. As Jesus says elsewhere, such a man has already received his reward in his pleasant self-complacency. He has "given a receipt" for what is due him and can hope for nothing more. The poor tax-collector, beating his breast, uses few words, but has a reverent earnestness and passionate longing for a divine blessing which shall deliver him from his meanness and selfishness. He was the one who went home with God's justifying approval.

No teacher ever emphasized the glory and worth of individual personality more than Jesus. The tax-collector's humility and the Pharisee's complacency have sometimes been perverted into a teaching that Jesus condemned personal pride and en-

couraged a man to think lightly of his own powers and capacities. Just the reverse is Jesus' thought. The Pharisee who is contented with himself has no chance for further and larger self-realization, because he expresses no desire for it. The man who thinks of his present self as utterly imperfect and incomplete is the one who is going to grow. He is the one who has the large ideals and the future possibilities. He is the only one whom God can help and always does help. Self-content spells stagnation.

A Jewish synagogue service in Jesus' day included many specified prayers; at least eighteen definitely formulated prayers are known which were used in the ordinary services. Jesus warns his disciples against too many set prayers. It is probable that in the saying of Matthew 6: 7, Jesus had in mind not only the "Gentiles" (American Standard Version) but also those Jews who memorized set prayers and wore them upon their foreheads, taking pride in their piety and in their ability to repeat these prayers in the temple or elsewhere.

Jesus directs his disciples to avoid all publicity in their own personal prayers. It is the one who strives to express his own soul and his own personal needs, especially the one who in agony of spirit seeks to bring his own soul into harmony with the Eternal and the Infinite, who always receives his recompense from the Father.

Moreover, God knows us better than we know ourselves. The father knows what the child needs, even before he asks. "God does not need our prayers. This is a warning, not against the prayer of petition, but against the unchildlike, stubborn prayer, against the prayer of petition that is thought of as compelling magic." 1

Jesus used many striking phrases in describing the power of personal prayer, and he was not afraid of critics who might say that his illustrations could not be taken literally. Thus throughout his ministry Jesus suggested the value of prayer by example rather than by formal edict. An effective use of

¹ Deissmann, Religion of Jesus, p. 65.

this "case method" is given in the account of the transfiguration. Peter, John and James had seen Jesus praying and had observed the changed appearance of his face. Later they came down from the mountain with Jesus and found a boy possessed of an evil spirit, whom the disciples had not been able to heal. As Jesus, with considerable effort, was able to restore the boy, he remarked that only through prayer is such an accomplishment possible (Mk. 9: 29). His disciples had not gone through his prayer experience.

"Ask and you will receive" (Lk. II: 9). This seemingly radical statement should not disturb the modern reader, for Jesus was searching for a statement extreme enough to compel his followers to think deeply and search their own hearts. Jesus says that no prayer can go unheard and unanswered, but it is always the Father's will which we should seek to know. One who does not ask at all naturally does not receive, and one who stands in front of a door without knocking, is not likely to have the door opened to him. The Heavenly Father knows how to give good things to his children and above all the Father will "give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him" (Lk. II: 13).

The most striking and, at the same time, the most popular expression of the power of prayer is to be found in Jesus' saying with regard to the mountain. It is so striking as a vehicle of spiritual truth that it was carried over by Paul into his immortal poem on the power of love (I Cor. 13: 2).

"This is one of the most certainly genuine of the words of Jesus . . . it bears witness to the wonderful paradox of the power of prayer, which is effective beyond all understanding." What Jesus wishes to say is that the one who prays in faith has remarkable, if not miraculous, power. Let us not try to criticize the illustration, but say rather that if there were some still deeper and more striking expression, it would still be inadequate to express to men the importance and the power of repeated and constant attempts to tune our souls to catch the harmony and beauty of the infinite love of God.

¹ Deissmann, Religion of Jesus, p. 66.

THE LORD'S PRAYER

One day while Jesus was praying in a chosen place . . . when he finished, one of his disciples said to him, "Master, teach us to pray as John taught his disciples." Then he said to them, "When you offer a prayer, say:

Our father who art in heaven,

Hallowed be thy name,

Thy kingdom come,

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread.

And forgive us our debts as we have forgiven our debtors.

Lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from evil.

For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forevermore. Amen.¹

The Lord's Prayer as just given is the result of a considerable evolution of early Christian ritual. The benediction with which it closes "For thine is the kingdom," etc., is not found in the early manuscripts of the New Testament. It was natural that Christians of the second century or later should wish to close their prayer in some such way. It was also natural that later editions of the Gospel of Matthew should include the prayer in the form in which it was used in the churches in these later centuries. Hence at the time of the Reformation, and later when our King James Version was made, this little benediction had been incorporated into many copies of the Testament. It was not a part of the original Gospel of Matthew.

The version of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew is somewhat longer than the parallel given by Luke. It is quite possible that Matthew has modified the source which he and Luke both

¹ Matt. 6: 9-13. Cf. Lk. 11: 1-4.

used, and has made the prayer into a form which would be more in line with the church service of his day, being careful, of course, to preserve the spirit of Jesus' original words. Luke has a habit of following his literary sources rather closely, and we may conclude with considerable certainty that the earlier written record of the Lord's Prayer read approximately as in Luke II: 2-4:

"Father, may thy name be revered,
May thy kingdom come,
Give us day by day our bread for the day,
Forgive us our sins
For we also forgive anyone who wrongs us,
And do not bring us into temptation."

There are many points of likeness between the Lord's Prayer and those employed in the Jewish synagogue, especially the eighteen prayers which were used in the ordinary service. But Jesus gives new meaning and a new spirit to the familiar words.

"Father" (Luke II: 2) was often used by the Jews in their prayers, but Jesus made of it a new word. "Father" in the Old Testament means creator. "Father" for Jesus means such a father as is pictured in the parable of the prodigal son, the one who, while his child is still a long way off, runs to welcome and to embrace, the one who knows how to give good gifts to his children (Lk. II: I3).

It takes a distinct effort to hold this warmth of relationship in mind as the prayer passes to the second thought, "May thy name be revered." This is, of course, not a petition that God's name should not be lightly used in profanity or idle speech. As a study of Old Testament and Jewish usage at once reveals, "name" means "character." It would not be far wrong to translate "May thy name of Father, and our relation as sons and brothers, be held more sacred than everything else in life." It is thus evident that the purpose of the Master's Prayer is to bring the soul into communion and union with that guid-

¹ Kent, The Life and Teachings of Jesus, p. 149.

ing Spirit which has through the ages delivered mankind out of darkness into light, has emancipated man from the beast, and has led humanity far toward a reign of brotherhood and

mutual helpfulness.

"May thy kingdom come." Again it is no asking of any personal blessing which is the content of this prayer. The prayer for the coming of the kingdom was a common Jewish utterance in synagogue worship: "May he establish his kingdom during your life." But Jesus changed the whole meaning of the old words when he placed upon his disciples a responsibility for preparation of themselves and others for that kingdom. "Kingdom" means rule or supremacy in the spiritual sense. A modern translation might read, "May the supremacy of love be established in my heart and in the world at large." The petition thus follows naturally the preceding "May thy name be revered." The purpose is to bring the heart of the one who prays into touch with that great unbounded Power which is causing brotherhood to triumph in individual souls and so in the world at large.

"Give us day by day the food that is needful." This sounds at first like a personal petition. But both Jewish usage and the teaching of Jesus show that its real meaning is to be found in the Old Testament passage from which it is in substance

a quotation:

Give me neither poverty nor riches;

Feed me with the food that is needful for me;

Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is Jehovah?

Or lest I be poor, and steal, and use profanely the name of my god.²

The purpose of this petition of the Master's Prayer is to free the soul from anxiety for material things in order that neither want nor plenty may interfere with the actual practice of the presence of the Kingdom and the rule of love.

"Forgive us our sins, for we also forgive anyone who wrongs

¹ See chapter on "The Kingdom of God."

² Prov. 30: 8, 9.

us." Forgiveness of others is the only part which is not paralleled in Jewish prayers. It recalls Jesus' words to Peter that he should forgive his brother not seven times, but seventy times seven. "Forgive us our sins" brings to mind that Jesus' idea of sin is concerned more with omission than commission. In the scene of the Great Judgment, the judge says to those on his left: "I was thirsty and you gave me no drink. . . . I was sick and you did not visit me."

"Do not bring us into temptation." In the dramatic scenes of the Book of Job, God allows Satan to tempt Job. But according to James 1: 13, "No one should think when he is tempted that his temptation comes from God, for God . . . never tempts anyone. When a man is tempted it is by his own desire that he is lured." The purpose of the petition of Jesus' prayer is to strengthen our confidence that it is not God who torments us in a time of moral conflict in our souls, rather that he always stands ready to help on the side of the nobler and purer life.

In the midst of the vastness of the material universe and the limitless possibilities of moral catastrophe a human being, through the medium of persistent prayer, can keep in vital touch with that unseen reality which is emancipating him from what is lower, and creating and recreating the higher and finer forms of life.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

BROWN, W. A., The Life of Prayer in a World of Science (1927).

BUNDY, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 141-209.

BURTON, Teaching of Jesus, pp. 161-166.

DEISSMANN, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 43-68.

DILL, S., Roman Society, pp. 443-483.

FOSDICK, H. E., The Meaning of Prayer, Ass'n Press, 1915.

FOWLER, W. W., The Religious Experience of the Roman People (1911), pp. 185-191.

GLOVER, The Jesus of History, pp. 89-114.

KENT, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 142-155.

Otto, R., The Idea of the Holy, Oxford, 1923.

WALKER, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 35-81.

Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. I, pp. 287-325.

Chapter XI

THE SON OF MAN

THE TERM "SON OF MAN"

(a)

What is man that thou art mindful of him? And the son of man that thou visitest him? (Psa. 8: 4).

And he said unto me, Son of man stand upon thy feet and I will speak with thee (Ezek. 2: 1).

God is not a man that he should lie

Neither the son of man that he should repent (Num. 23: 19).

Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man does not have a place to lay his head (Lk. 9: 58; Matt. 8: 20).

(b)

I saw in the night visions, and behold there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the Ancient of Days (Dan. 7: 13).

And I asked the angel who went with him, and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that son of man, who he was and whence he was and why he went with the Ancient of Days.

And he answered me: This is the son of man who is righteousness (I Enoch 46: 2-3).

And he sat on the throne of his glory

And the sum of judgment was given to the son of man (I Enoch 69: 27).

And all the kings and the mighty

Shall fall down before him on their faces

And worship and set their hope upon that son of man (I Enoch 62: 9).

Just as it happened in the days of Noah, so shall it be at the coming of the son of man (Lk. 17: 26).

Be constantly on the watch, for you cannot tell at what hour the son of man may come (Lk. 12:40).

To understand the personality and inner consciousness of Jesus is no small undertaking. Great personalities rise above their fellow men like mountains above the plain. As yet the highest mountain in the world has not been successfully climbed by any of the many who have attempted to reach its peak.

It is not difficult, however, to make a small beginning in the direction of grasping the thought of Jesus and giving some conception of his sense of relationship to his fellow men and to God. Those attempts will be most successful which endeavor to regard his personality as like other great personalities, except in its unattainable height and utter grandeur. A few simple historical facts are quite essential as equipment along the way.

The expression "Son of Man" occurs frequently throughout the Old and New Testaments and in the Jewish literature of the time of Jesus. The student who has patience to examine these many passages will have no difficulty in understanding the general meaning and usage of the term. It is clear in the Old Testament usage that the phrase does not refer to any single individual.

As Burton puts it 1 "Neither the Hebrew nor the Greek Old Testament has a phrase properly meaning 'the son of man' which refers to any particular person. Both the Hebrew and the Greek phrases are poetic or emphatic expressions for 'man.'"

¹ The Teaching of Jesus, p. 217.

In Psalm 8: 4 "Son of Man" means "mere man," or simply "man" with emphasis on his weakness and insignificance. Numbers 23: 19 is similar. In the Book of Ezekiel that prophet is called in scores of passages, "son of man." In Daniel 7: 13, the reference is to a humble person. Daniel was prophesying that a deliverer would come to rescue the Jews amid clouds of glory, from their subjection and slavery. Daniel states emphatically that this deliverer will be a plain simple man like any other, a "son of man." It is clear that the expression was in effect an adjective, not a proper noun. It designates not a particular person, but a quality of human simplicity which is ascribed at one time to Ezekiel, at another time to other leaders.

In one section of the Book of Enoch, which was perhaps written in the first century B.C., the phrase is used as a designation of the expected messiah. As Burton states, "In no other Jewish work of the pre-Christian or New Testament period is the term so used." What the writer of Enoch did was to pick up the sentence in Daniel, and portray this "plain man" of Daniel as occupying a resplendent throne, receiving the adoration of the kings of the earth, inflicting judgment and exalting the righteous.

The use of the term in the sayings of Jesus is readily intelligible after a review of this background. Sometimes Jesus used the term in the accepted sense of "plain man." In Mark 10: 17, some one came to Jesus and said, "Good teacher, what shall I do to attain the life of the age to come?" And Jesus said, "Why do you call me good?" In the same vein, another came to Jesus (Lk. 9: 57) offering his allegiance and adoration. And in a similar tone Jesus said, "The son of man has no place to lay his head."

Sometimes again he used it with reference to that coming deliverer whom the Jews were expecting. He urged men constantly to be ready for that new and better age which God would soon inaugurate. "Jesus came into Galilee preaching . . .

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mk. 1: 14, 15). Jesus had not, of course, announced his messiahship. When he told men to be constantly watchful and at all times ready for the coming of the son of man (Lk. 17: 26; 12: 40) they would understand his words in the light of the Book of Enoch, to refer to the inauguration of the new age.

When Jesus faced the question of messiahship in the temptation experiences, as pointed out in Chapter VII, it is probable that Jesus himself did not in the earlier part of his ministry feel that he was the great and glorious expected deliverer of Israel. If during this time Jesus ever used the term in the fashion of the Book of Enoch, he was sharing in the prevailing expectation of his time. Modern scholars are coming more and more to agreement that when Jesus uses the term in this sense it should be assumed that he is referring to some one other than himself, unless there is something in the passage which indicates its application to Jesus.

The net result of the study of the term is to reveal a natural beauty, a human growth, and a supreme strength in the character and personality of Jesus, which would not otherwise be apparent. He began his ministry in the assurance that God had called him, but with a deep sense of the magnitude of the task before him. He made no pretentious claims for himself, but went about doing good. If anyone tried to worship him, he told him to offer his worship to God. Jesus called himself a man, a brother of his fellow men, a son of man.

As the weeks and the months went by, he became the revelation of God's love and shepherding care. He became for them a representative of God. After he was gone, his followers remembered that the Book of Enoch had surrounded this phrase, "the son of man," with poetic grandeur and magnificent imagery. They used the poetry of Enoch to express their adoration of their "son of man." Thus the phrase gradually took on that royal and messianic atmosphere which surrounds it in some of the passages of our gospels.

THE "CHRIST" OR "ANOINTED"

And David said, "Jehovah forbid that I should do this thing unto my lord, Jehovah's anointed, to put forth my hand against him, seeing he is Jehovah's anointed" (I Sam. 24: 6).

Touch not mine anointed ones and do my prophets no harm (Psa. 105: 15).

Thus saith Jehovah of his anointed, of Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him (Is. 45: 1).

And the people were all wondering in their hearts about John, whether he was the Christ (Lk. 3: 15).

He asked them, "Who do you say that I am?" And Peter answered him "You are the Christ." Then Jesus warned them not to say this about him to anyone (Mk. 8: 29, 30).

Again the high priest questioned him and said, "Are you the Christ?" . . . Jesus said, "I am" (Mk. 14: 61, 62).

"Christ" is a Greek term which represents an attempt to translate the Hebrew "Messiah." "Messiah" is a part of the verb to "anoint" and is usually translated in the English Old Testament "anointed." It was a common practice among the Hebrews to anoint a priest or a king, or sometimes a prophet, as a ceremonial token of elevation to office. In I Samuel 24: 6, the anointed one (messiah) is King Saul. In Psalm 105: 15 the anointed refers poetically to the patriarchs and prophets. In Isaiah 45: 1, Cyrus, King of Persia, is Jehovah's "anointed."

The key to the best understanding of Jesus' messianic consciousness is the recognition that his personality, like that of all other leaders, was a growing one, constantly expanding with his work. It does not seem probable that before his baptism Jesus had any definite idea that he was to become king or

messiah of his people. On the other hand, the Gospels, including the earliest one, Mark, state that he declared himself to be messiah at the close of his ministry, when the high priest asked him if he were. The earlier sources of the gospels have nothing to say on the subject. The presentation in the Gospel of Mark seems a natural one.

When did Jesus first come to think of himself as God's "anointed"? Until recently, very few scholars recognized the principle of growth in the consciousness of Jesus during his ministry. The older opinion has been that Jesus must have come to full consciousness of his messiahship immediately at baptism. But the fact that there is no mention of messiahship in the narrative of the baptism is a serious argument against this idea.

Since the temptations of Jesus seem to have corresponded to the three ideas of messiahship held by various groups in Jesus' day, in turning away from all three, Jesus was, in fact, turning away from any deliberate messianic appeal to the Jews. As his ministry progressed he must have been confronted again and again with these possible messianic programs. Constantly, too, he rejected these popular ideas, and endeavored to spread the good news of a different kind of kingdom.

He saw the futility of the Jewish hope for the day when each man would sit under his own vine and fig tree, or would win military campaigns against the nations of the world. If Cyrus, King of Persia, was Jehovah's "messiah" (Is. 45: 1), then Jesus could hardly be. There was no militarism in Jesus' idea of the kingdom. He poured out his life to reveal a God of love who had chosen his people for lives of service.

The statement of Mark (1:15) that Jesus came into Galilee declaring that the kingdom of God was at hand, should not be understood as meaning that Jesus considered himself to be the "messiah." As suggested earlier, the kingdom was often conceived without any definite idea of a special messiah. Jesus

¹ See Chapter XII for a fuller discussion of Jesus' conception of the kingdom of God.

came to proclaim the love of God and the nearness of the kingdom.

As the weeks and months went by, an increasing number recognized in Jesus the true representative of God, and the adoration of his immediate followers deepened beyond all description. They could find no words adequate to express their sense of his nearness to God. The most appropriate word in their vocabulary was "messiah," or "Christ." One day Peter declared his conviction that Jesus was "anointed" of God (Lk. 9: 18; Mk. 8: 29). Jesus immediately warned his disciples not to repeat this to anyone.

But more and more Jesus' idea of the kingdom prevailed. More and more clearly Jesus saw that he was the one who was bringing the kingdom into reality in the hearts of his countrymen. Increasingly he was convinced that he was to be God's chosen one, "anointed" to be God's agent in bringing to pass the kingdom of love and brotherhood and ministering service.

On the occasion of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, Jesus openly accepted the acclaim of the people. It may be that he allowed them to proclaim him as their "anointed" or "Messiah" on this occasion. He would not and could not have done this earlier in the ministry, because he had not acquainted them with his ideal of messiahship. If he had allowed anyone to call him messiah in the earlier days, it would have meant that many would have expected a military program. But in the course of his ministry he had become known throughout Palestine as the great prophet (Matt. 21: 11; Mk. 11: 9, 10) of peace, humility, and service. On this basis he could proclaim himself as God's servant.

Jesus sacrificed his life in the inauguration of the kingdom. It is easy to understand how certain Jewish leaders and the Roman governor could unite in getting rid of a man who was regarded by so many people as "messiah" or king of the Jews. He who loses his life will find it (Mk. 8: 35; Matt. 10: 39). On the other hand, it is only a negative half-truth to say that Jesus lost his life. B. W. Bacon and other scholars have clearly

pointed out that there was in antiquity a very clear idea of the positive value of sacrificing one's life. One who lost his life in a battle for the defense of the religion of Jehovah, or who patriotically lost his life would "shine as the brightness of the firmament" (Dan. 12: 3). Jesus felt that there was in the very act of sacrificing his life a great appeal to God's favor. He went eagerly to his death in the sure conviction that God would respond by signally blessing and prospering the cause for which Jesus had poured out his life.

In conclusion it should be noted that the term "messiah," or "Christ," was far too small to fit the world ministry of Jesus. It was only a national term for a national office. To the student of history, the title is only the beginning of an appreciation of Jesus. He was a messenger of God to the world, rather than to a particular people. He must himself have recognized the smallness and pettiness of the term, in comparison with the world mission which he knew God had given him to accomplish.

To be sure, as a Jew, Jesus would regard the term very highly. But many passages in the gospels show that his consciousness reached out beyond the Jews and included other nations. With him it was a question not of whether the term fitted his office, but of whether he could accept this offering from his countrymen, without endangering his teaching of fellowship and brotherhood.

It must have meant much to Washington to become the first President of his country. Yet he must also have often thought of the larger implications of his office. It had a world significance in that it gave to the world a new basis of freedom and democracy. So Jesus transcends all national lines. He is saviour of the world, he is revealer of God, he is "son of God."

THE SON OF GOD

They are my people, children that will not deal falsely (Is. 63:8).

O Jehovah, thou art my father (Is. 64: 8).

Have we not all one father? Has not one God created us? (Mal. 2: 10.)

Ye are . . . sons of the Most High (Psa. 82: 6).

Ye are the sons of the living God (Hos. 1: 10).

Say to my servant David . . . I will be his father and he shall be my son (II Sam. 7: 8, 14).

I have found David my servant . . .

I will make him my firstborn,

The highest of the kings of the earth (Psa. 89: 20, 27).

Thou art my son,

This day have I begotten thee (Psa. 2: 7).

If there be not anyone who is worthy to be called a son of God, nevertheless let him labor earnestly. . . . Even if we are not worthy to be called the sons of God, still we may deserve to be called the children of his eternal image (Philo (15-45 A.D.) Conj. 28).

He shall pour out the spirit of grace among you and you shall be to him sons in truth (Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (109–105 B.C.) Jud. 24: 3).

My son the messiah shall be revealed (IV Esdras (100-135 A.D.) 7: 28).

My son shall reprove the nations (IV Esdras 13: 37).

Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called sons of God (Matt. 5: 9).

Love your enemies . . . and you will be sons of the Most High; for he is kind to the unthankful and evil (Lk. 6: 35).

Now the centurion . . . watching Jesus . . . said, "Truly this man was a son of God" (Mk. 15: 39; Matt. 27: 54. Cf. Lk. 23: 47).

And the devil said to him, "If you are a son of God,

command this stone to turn into a piece of bread (Lk. 4: 3; Matt. 4: 3).

You are my beloved son. I am well pleased with you (Mk. 1: 11).

No one knows the day or hour (of the coming of the son of man) not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father (Mk. 13: 32).

Simon Peter answered, "You are the Christ, the son of the living God" (Matt. 16: 16).

The term "son of God" has a rich and varied history in Hebrew literature. It was a favorite custom of the writers of the Psalms and other books to speak of King David as "son of God" or "son of the Most High." In Luke 3: 38, Adam is called "son of God." Again and again, righteous Jews are described as sons of God the Father. In some passages the idea clearly is that they are sons because God has created them. In most passages, however, the relationship centers in the thought that God has chosen them. He has adopted them as sons.

If there is any key word to an understanding of the history of this expression, it is this word "adoption." The Apostle Paul uses it constantly in distinction from the word "slavery." A slave, says Paul, may be adopted into a family and become a son. A child of God who has been in the bondage of sin may be adopted and become a son of God. "You are no longer a slave, but a son" (Gal. 4: 6). The contrast is between the child which has not been legally and ceremonially recognized by its father, and the child which a father recognizes and adopts as his son. All men, according to Hebrew thought, are children of God, but certain ones, the Jews, he has adopted as his sons. With the development of the ethical emphasis the distinction is no longer drawn along national lines. It is the righteous and the godly who are his adopted sons. The idea of sonship thus means spiritual kinship.

The "sons of the light" (Lk. 16:8) are those who know the light. The "sons of this age" (Lk. 16:8) are those who par-

ticipate in the evils of this material age as contrasted with that of the more spiritual age which is to come. James and John, the sons of Zebedee, earned the nickname "sons of thunder" (Mk. 3: 17) and it is not hard to imagine the qualities which gave them this title.

A "son" may lose the quality which entitles him to the name and so lose his position as son. The "sons of the kingdom" will in some cases be rejected and expelled from the home (Matt. 8: 12). The prodigal son on his return expected to be deposed of his sonship. "I am no longer qualified to be recognized as ("called") your son; make me one of your hired men" (Lk. 15: 19). On the other hand, those good people who bring peace wherever they go are blessed because on account of their character they will be known as ("called") "sons of God" (Matt. 5: 9).

If all righteous men are "sons of God," it is natural to speak of certain ones as objects of God's special love. Thus David is called "son" in II Samuel 7: 14, but in Psalms 89: 27 he is Jehovah's "firstborn" son. At the baptism, Jesus heard the voice of God saying to him, "You are my beloved son. I am well pleased with you" (Mk. 1: 11). Sometimes Jesus is called "the son" to distinguish him from all other sons. The Roman centurion who saw how Jesus died called him a son of God.

The title is used in the Gospels with all variations of content, according to the idea which the writer wishes to express. In paraphrasing the remark of the centurion just quoted Luke uses the term "a righteous man" (Lk. 23: 47). In other passages "son of God" takes on a distinctly official or even metaphysical sense. But the basis for understanding the usage as a whole is found in its ethical content. Jesus lived a life so near to God, serving God so closely, so personally, so faithfully that he became the favorite among many sons. He became God's beloved son. Because this sonship was grounded in ethical and spiritual kinship, Jesus has become the representative of God to peoples and nations. He has become the revelation of God through the centuries to a world which is still searching and groping to find

that perfection of life which is infinite and eternal. If modern men and women believe that war is the greatest power in the world, they will be slow to recognize in Jesus a son of God, but those who have faith that love is stronger than hate, that brotherhood and fellowship will triumph, will recognize Jesus as God's beloved son.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

ABBOT, The Son of Man. Bosworth, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 222-307. Bousset, Jesus. Burton, The Teaching of Jesus, pp. 214-256. CASE, Jesus, pp. 326-387. Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 69-97. Driver, "Son of Man," Hastings, D. B., Vol. V. MATHEWS, The Messianic Hope in the New Testament. McCown, The Genesis of the Social Gospel, pp. 292-328. ROBINSON, The Gospel of John, pp. 182-187. SCHMIDT, N., "Son of Man," Journal of Biblical Literature, 1926, pp. 326 ff. Scott, The Kingdom and the Messiah. Walker, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 129-181. Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. II, pp. 122-183. ZENOS, Plastic Age of the Gospel, pp. 65-73.

Chapter XII

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

OLD TESTAMENT AND JEWISH USE OF THE TERM "KINGDOM"

OLD TESTAMENT

You shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Ex. 19: 6).

They have not rejected you, but they have rejected me [says Jehovah] that I should not be king over them (I Sam. 8: 7).

Jehovah is our judge, Jehovah is our law-giver, Jehovah is our king; He will save us (Isa. 33: 22).

He has chosen Solomon to sit on the throne of the Kingdom of Jehovah (I Chron. 28: 5).

He is a great king over all the earth (Psa. 47: 2). Even thine altars, O Jehovah of hosts, my king and my God (Psa. 84: 3).

When your days are fulfilled and you sleep with your fathers, I will set up your son after you . . . and I shall establish his kingdom. . . . And your house and your kingdom shall be made sure everywhere (II Sam. 7: 12).

I will establish his kingdom. . . . I will settle him in my house and in my kingdom forever (I Chron. 17: 11).

Unto us a son is given, and the government shall be

upon his shoulder and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. And of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end upon the throne of David and upon his Kingdom (Isa. 9: 6).

The day has come, saith the Lord, and I will raise up to David a righteous branch who shall reign as king

(Jer. 23: 5. Cf. Jer. 33: 15).

And my servant, David, shall be king over them and they shall all have one shepherd (Ezek. 37: 24).

It shall come to pass in the later days that the mountain of Jehovah's house shall be established. . . . And many people shall go and say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, to the house of the God of Jacob. . . . And he will judge between the nations. . . . And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more (Isa. 2: 2-4).

I saw in the night visions and behold there came with the clouds of heaven, one like a son of man. . . . And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom (Dan. 7: 13).

BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS

When Jacob was a fugitive . . . wisdom guided him in straight paths and showed him God's kingdom, and gave him knowledge of holy things (Wis. 10: 10).

Those who fear the Lord rejoice in prosperity. Thy lovingkindness is upon Israel in thy kingdom. Blessed be the glory of the Lord, for he is our king (Psa. of Solomon 5: 21).

Blessed be thou, O Lord, king both great and

mighty.... And thy kingship.... And thy kingdom throughout all generations (Enoch 84: 2).

Then his kingdom will appear throughout all his creation, and then Satan will be no more and sorrow will depart with him (Ass. of Moses 10: 1).

And I shall give to your seed all the earth, and they will judge all the nations. . . And after that they will get possession of the whole earth (Jub. 32: 19).

Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king.
... And there shall be no iniquity in his days in their midst, for all shall be holy and their king is the Lord Messiah. He shall not put his trust in horse and rider.
... The Lord Himself is his king (Psa. of Solomon 17: 23, 36-38).

They that fear the Lord shall rise again in life eternal (Psa. of Solomon 3: 16).

In those days will the earth also give back those who are treasured up in it (Enoch 51: 1).

There is ample opportunity in the Old Testament and Jewish literature for the study of the word which occupies central place in the teaching of Jesus. The Jews had spoken of the "Kingdom" throughout the time of the writing of the Old Testament, and particularly in the interval between the close of the Old Testament and the ministry of Jesus. The underlying etymological meaning of the word is not the external one which appears in the English word, but is more abstract, indicating kingship, or rule, or supremacy (cf. Wisdom 10: 10).

The earliest Old Testament conception of the Kingdom of God was that of the nation of the Jews as the peculiar people of God. "You shall be to me a kingdom." The Jews naturally spoke in terms of their own political organization. They thought of Israel as a kingdom and of God as its king. This conception of the kingdom is clear from the earliest date.

¹ The description of Old Testament usage here given follows closely the sketch by E. D. Burton New Testament Word Studies, 1927, p. 83.

The idea is broadened, however, in some of the Psalms and later writings, and Jehovah is spoken of as king over all the earth. The thought is also turned inward by the Psalmist, and made individual. Jehovah is king of the worshiping soul.

It was entirely natural that they should think of the "reign" or "sovereignty" of Jehovah as extending into the future. Sometimes the passages speak of David's kingdom as lasting evermore. Later passages show how the thought of David's kingdom melts into the expression of God's kingdom, or the kingdom of Jehovah: "I will establish his kingdom. . . . I will settle him . . . in my kingdom forever" (I Chron. 17: 11).

Thought of the future kingdom often takes the form of the expectation of a successor to David, who shall be unusually wise and powerful. He will be called "Wonderful," "Everlasting Father," "Prince of Peace."

This thought of a king or messiah of the future marks the transition to the picture of a future kingdom which will be not merely a continuation of the present kingdom (II Sam. 7: 12), but will be a finer and better one. Then happiness and right-eousness will be realized. The law of Jehovah will become the standard of life. Isaiah even dreamed the dream in that ancient day that wars would cease and that nations would settle their differences on the basis of religion and duty, rather than by military strength.

The hope of a future better kingdom became very widespread among the Jews in the last centuries before Jesus. One direction of growth was in spiritualizing the idea of the "reign" or "sovereignty" of God. Conceived as a spiritual realm, it was already present. Jacob was "guided" into "God's kingdom"—that is, into a knowledge of holy things. This sovereignty of God in the individual heart became especially popular when the Jews lost their political king and, under the iron hand of Rome, lost hope in a material and political kingdom.

Another direction in which the conception developed was in speaking of the kingdom as existing not in the present but primarily in the future. His kingdom will appear and Satan will be no more. This future hope often pictures the Jews as exalted at some future date not only by the restoration of the whole kingdom of David, but beyond this by attaining a position of preëminence among the nations of the world. They will judge all the nations according to their desires.

Another tendency of late Judaism, especially on the part of the Pharisees, was to think of the kingdom as set up by God Himself. To be sure, the zealots were ambitious for the kingdom, and often started a fight for its realization. They had much to do with the events leading to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. But the non-militaristic attitude is more prominent in the literature of the day. "He shall not put his trust in horse and rider." The Kingdom of Jehovah will be inaugurated through God's power rather than directly through any human agency. In some passages the realization of the kingdom is deferred to an indefinite future with a restoration pictured in which those who die before its inauguration will rise from their graves to share in its blessings.

A summary of the Jewish usage of the term "Kingdom" or "Sovereignty" of God is well given by Burton:

"There is a present sovereignty of God which shall be eternal.
"There will be a kingdom of God which shall realize more perfectly than ever before the sovereignty of God.

"This kingdom of Jehovah will be at the same time the kingdom of his saints.

"The kingdom is to be brought about by divine power; the saints wait for it, not fight for it. This was the Pharisaic idea—the Zealots wished to fight for it.

"The kingly power of this kingdom is to be exercised by Jehovah's vicegerent, the Messiah.

"Though not attained by military power, it is to exist on earth and is to be a political kingdom. Sinners are to be expelled from it, and the Gentiles made subject to it.

"With the coming of the kingdom was often associated the idea of a judgment of the wicked. In this Jehovah was sometimes thought of as judge, sometimes the Messiah.

"The Pharisees looked for a resurrection of the righteous to eternal life. It seems natural to suppose that this was associated with the idea of the kingdom, the resurrection being in order that the righteous might have part in it. This association is, however, not always indicated." ¹

JESUS' USE OF THE TERM "KINGDOM"

Seek first his kingdom and his nobility of character, and all these things will be yours in addition (Matt. 6: 33; Lk. 12: 31).

Unless a man receives the kingdom of God like a child, he will not enter into it at all (Mk. 10: 15).

The kingdom of God is like a bit of yeast which a woman took and mixed in a big measure of flour until the whole batch was made to rise (Lk. 13: 20, 21; Matt. 13: 33).

The kingdom of Heaven is like a mustard seed which a man sowed (Matt. 13: 31).

The kingdom is like a man who sowed good seed in his field (Matt. 13: 24).

Happy are you who are poor, for the kingdom of God is yours (Lk. 6: 20).

The kingdom of God is not going to come in a material and visible way, nor will people say "Look, here it is," or, "There it is." For the kingdom of God is now among you (Lk. 17: 20, 21).

The kingdom of God is like a man sowing seed in the ground. . . . The ground bears the crop of itself—First the spear of grass, then a head of grain, then the fully developed grain (Mk. 4: 26, 28).

The time has been fulfilled and the kingdom of God is near (Mk. 1:15).

Unless your uprightness of character is greatly ¹ New Testament Word Studies, 1927, p. 94.

Superior to that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 5: 20).

The kingdom of God is . . . righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (Rom. 14: 17).

Jesus used the term "kingdom" in a variety of ways, in line with the varied Jewish uses just described. He made the kingdom central in his teaching as it was at the heart of the Jewish religion of his day. In a study of his teaching, it becomes apparent that his distinct contribution was not in the idea that the kingdom was coming, but in the conception of a life of service which men should live in preparation for the kingdom. It is particularly to be noted that the conditions of entering this kingdom are never national, having nothing to do with descent from Abraham, but are always personal and moral.

In regard to the question of whether the kingdom is present or future, the same variety of usage exists as in the Old Testament. In Luke 17: 20, Jesus says that the kingdom is not an outward, catastrophic event, but is something which now exists within and among men.

In other passages Jesus speaks of the kingdom as growing gradually like grain in the field. In each man's heart, the reign of God comes slowly and gradually to its maturity and bears fruit. Likewise, socially the supremacy of God will come

progressively to fruition.

Still again, Jesus frequently refers to the kingdom as "near at hand." This use of the term is a mediation between the thought of God as now reigning in individual hearts, and the thought of that future day when God's reign will be realized socially and universally. That future day was the greatest reward which Jesus and his disciples could anticipate. Unless your righteousness excels that of the Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom.

There are passages which reflect the current Jewish expectation of some that a heavenly being would descend from the presence of God and consummate the kingdom. These pas-

sages should not be allowed to obscure the dominating thought of the spiritual character which is the supreme hope of those who are looking forward to sharing in God's plans. Both Jesus and Paul anticipated the day of the consummation of God's will, but there is danger of over-emphasizing the apocalyptic element which was a part of their Jewish environment. Paul himself says that the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

The early Christians undoubtedly looked forward to the great Coming in clouds of glory, and their Jewish idea is plainly reflected in our Gospels. But the characteristic emphasis of Jesus was plainly on the spiritual quality of life which is essen-

tial to those who would share in the kingdom.

THE BLESSINGS OF THE KINGDOM

The spirit of the Lord is upon me, for he has consecrated me to announce good news to the poor, he has sent me to proclaim release to imprisoned ones, and restored vision to blinded ones, to give freedom to those that are oppressed, to announce the year appointed of the Lord (Lk. 4: 18, 19).

The kingdom is like the treasure buried in a field, which a man found and buried again, and in his delight went and sold all he possessed and bought the

field (Matt. 13: 44).

Again the kingdom is like a merchant seeking valuable pearls; and finding one of great excellence, he went and sold everything and bought it (Matt. 13: 45, 46).

Because of the merciful heart of our God, the dawn will break upon us out of heaven, to shine upon those who live in darkness and the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace (Lk. 1: 77-79 cf. Isa. 43: 25).

Come to me all you who toil and bear burdens and

I will give you rest, for my yoke is easy and my burden is light (Matt. 11: 28, 30).

There is no one who has left home, or wife, or brothers, or parents or children for the kingdom of God who will not receive many times more in the present, and in the age that is to come eternal life (Lk. 18: 29, 30).

While the Jews of Jesus' day were thinking of the kingdom as a future Utopia, far out of reach in their present subjection to the Roman Empire, Jesus' emphasis upon the spiritual blessings of the kingdom made his listeners believe that the kingdom might be very close to them. If knowledge of God, assurance of his love, forgiveness of sins, spiritual health and happiness are the first realities of the kingdom, then the new age had actually begun in the hearts of his followers. Wherever Jesus went, he "set at liberty" (Lk. 4: 18) and healed hearts which had been bruised and crushed; he gave new light to souls which had been darkened. Isaiah (61: 1, 2) had pictured these things as a permanent part of the coming kingdom.

When Jesus says that the kingdom is like a piece of gold which a man one day finds hidden in a field, he is talking about something very immediate. One who discovers the loving fatherhood of God soon realizes that he has found a pearl of great price.

The Beatitudes as given by Matthew reflect this same spiritual emphasis. None of the blessings there enumerated is in any way dependent upon an outward or external change in the social order. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called Sons of God" (Matt. 5: 8, 9).

The doing of God's will is one of the chief features of the kingdom. "Seek first his kingdom and his righteousness" is a matter of personal living. The kingdom is a reality to those who are expressing it in their own lives. "Thy kingdom come"

is synonymous with "Thy will be done" and refers not primarily to its sudden future inauguration, but to that gradual growth of which Jesus speaks so often. "The kingdom is like a man sowing seed . . . first the spear of grass, then a head of grain, then the fully developed grain" (Mk. 4: 26, 28).

The forgiveness of sins is one of the great blessings longed for by the Jewish prophets (cf. Isa. 43: 25). Forgiveness of sins is likewise one of the elements of the Lord's Prayer; forgiving one another's sins is not only a part of that prayer, but is also the topic of one of Jesus' most striking parables. Peter had asked him how many times he should forgive his brother. Jesus answered, "Seventy times seven" (Matt. 18: 21-35). A poetic figure of the "dawn" of a new day, and the finding of "peace," follow naturally the joy of forgiveness (Lk. 1: 77-79).

These inner spiritual blessings are beautifully portrayed in one of the most-loved passages of the Gospels. Jesus promises that those who come to him will find relief from their burdens. No matter how hard their toil may have been or how severe their sorrow, when they take upon themselves the yoke of Jesus and learn his lesson of love toward God and neighbor, they will find rest, "For my yoke is easy and my burden is light" (Matt. 11: 28–30).

One of Jesus' sayings speaks at the same time of the present spiritual blessings and of the eternal life of the age that is to come. Anyone "who has left home or wife or brothers or parents or children for the kingdom" will receive many times more in the present, and in the age to come, eternal life (Lk. 18: 29). The saying, by its very nature, cannot possibly be taken literally and so is full of suggestion as to the wealth of blessings which the kingdom has for those who share in it.

Should the question be asked, did Jesus think of the kingdom as a reality of the present or as an event of the future? Accepting this as a question which must be answered by one of the two alternatives, students of the Gospels have found passages which clearly speak of the future coming of the kingdom.

As a result the many ways in which Jesus speaks of the present blessings of the kingdom have been overlooked. The fact is that in Jesus' teaching the kingdom as a present spiritual reality is even more prominent than as a future apocalyptic event, a few spectacular utterances notwithstanding.

Liberty for the oppressed, sight for the blind, righteousness for those who hunger after it, comfort for those who mourn, mercy for the merciful, the vision of God for the pure in heart, becoming sons of God for those who promote the cause of peace, the forgiveness of sins, the joyful doing of God's will, the forgiving of others, an easy yoke and a rest from the burdens of life, the dawn of a heavenly day, the assurance of peace, the possession of the Holy Spirit—these are some of the blessings of the kingdom which can be enjoyed in the present life.

CONDITIONS OF ENTERING THE KINGDOM

The kingdom of God is near; repent and believe the good news (Mk. 1: 15).

I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance (Lk. 5: 32).

If your hand causes you to stumble, cut if off . . . if your foot causes you to stumble, cut it off. It is better for you to enter into life lame than with two feet to be thrown into the Valley of Hinnom . . . where the worm never dies and the fire does not go out (Mk. 9: 43, 45, 47; Isa. 66: 24).

The highly spiritual conception of the kingdom is further emphasized by the list of conditions which Jesus presents to those who would enter. Nothing is said about descent from Abraham. There is scarcely a reference to the temple obligations and the offering of sacrifices. There is strenuous objection

to the literalistic way of keeping the Commandments as the road to the kingdom.

Jesus' religion took rather the attitude that a repentant spirit is the first requisite. By this he meant that one who is satisfied with his present way of living is not on the road to improvement. John the Baptist had preached in a similar way. But there was a hardness about his call to repentance which was quite in contrast to Jesus' brotherly invitation to "turn" (such is the literal meaning of the word "repent") or to change the heart in the direction of a larger brotherhood and finer service.

Another condition for entering the kingdom is the receptive spirit. "Unless a man receives the kingdom like a child, he will not enter it" (Lk. 18: 17). There is the story of the supper at which a woman of bad reputation came to give the best that she had, a costly jar of perfume which she poured over Jesus' feet (Lk. 7: 38). It was on this occasion that Jesus told the story of the two debtors. As neither of the debtors was able to pay, the creditor forgave them both (Lk. 7: 42). The gratitude of the forgiven debtors and of the sinful woman is a reflection of the eagerness with which the poor and unfortunate of Galilee welcomed the spiritual blessings of the kingdom.

Yet another condition is the doing of God's will. There were two sons whom the father asked to work for him. And one answered that he would go, but did nothing. The other refused at first, but afterward changed his mind and went. So it is with entrance into the kingdom (Matt. 21: 31). Past life and past refusals to God are not remembered when a man does give himself wholeheartedly to great service. Utter devotion to the work and ideals of the kingdom receives more emphasis in the religion of Jesus than any other condition of salvation. If there is anything which stands in the way, it should be removed at any cost. A hand or a foot may seem valuable, but the ideal of brotherhood and the service of love are above everything else in life.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Bosworth, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 166-221.

Bundy, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 104-140.

Burch, Ethical Teaching of the Gospels, pp. 188-191.

Burton, The Teaching of Jesus, pp. 189-213.

Case, S. J., The Millennial Hope, University of Chicago Press, 1917.

Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 101-122.

Foakes Jackson and Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, pp. 267-299.

Kent, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 156-167.

Mathews, Messianic Hope in the New Testament.

Scott, The Ethical Teaching of Jesus, pp. 42-50.

Walker, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 101-125.

Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. 1, pp. 173-287; Vol. II, pp. 1-121.

Zenos, Plastic Age of the Gospel, pp. 44-48.

Chapter XIII

THE KINGDOM AS A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

THE KINGDOM BOTH PRESENT AND FUTURE

If I with the finger of God am expelling demons, then the kingdom of God has already arrived among you (Lk. 11: 20).

Blessed are you who are poor; for the kingdom of God is yours (Lk. 6: 20).

The kingdom of God is now among you (Lk. 17: 21).

This scripture has been fulfilled to-day (Lk. 4: 17-21).

I tell you there are some of you standing here who will not die till you see the kingdom of God come with power (Mk. 9: 1).

May thy kingdom come (Lk. 11: 2; Matt. 5: 20; Lk. 22: 29).

Jesus thought of the kingdom not only as a present blessing in the hearts of his followers, but as a powerful event of the future. The term "kingdom" was very elastic. Jesus' use of it sometimes placed the emphasis upon the supremacy of God at present in the soul of man, at other times upon the future wider supremacy of God among men, and again upon that future day which he and other Jews of his time expected, when there would be great material and social changes and the reign of God would be outwardly and gloriously ushered into reality.

Not only is the kingdom both present and future, it is also both individual and social. As the Hebrew Psalmist sang of

THE KINGDOM AS A NEW SOCIAL ORDER 213

Jehovah as his king in the individual sense (Psa. 83: 3) and again of Jehovah as king over all the earth (Psa. 47: 2), so Jesus had many things to say about the "reign" of God in the individual heart and also about the rule of God socially, nationally, and internationally.

Jesus also pictures the coming of the "Rule" of God both in terms of gradual realization and in words indicating a sudden or even catastrophic consummation. Neither thought was exclusive of the other, but each has its place in making up Jesus' teaching regarding the kingdom.

Three outstanding tendencies in Jewish thought of Jesus' Three Transfer of Three Thre day have been noted. From the time of the Old Testament prophets there had been a constant trend toward conceiving /. the kingdom in ethical terms. Not every son of Abraham would have a share in it, but only those who were righteous in heart and were loyal to Jehovah. A second tendency of Judaism was to spiritualize the kingdom by stating its blessings less and less in terms of material benefits and more and more in spiritual endowments of peace and purity. A third tendency was further to transpose the kingdom into a future age to be ushered in with great portents and wonders.

It is to be noted that Jesus follows the first two of these three tendencies, reflecting the third, to be sure, but not favoring or developing it. In fact, Jesus' idea of the kingdom is more closely akin to that of the Old Testament than to the apocalyptic literature of his day. The apocalyptic emphasis was more material, geographical, transcendent. Jesus' thought was more inward, more spiritual, more immediate.

It is therefore misleading to ask whether Jesus believed that the kingdom will be the result of a gradual social evolution, or held that there will be a sudden catastrophic "Coming" which will inaugurate the kingdom. We must frankly face the fact that in accord with time-honored Jewish custom Jesus. spoke of the kingdom as both the present rule of God in human affairs and as the future complete harmonizing of human life with His will. We can understand that the rule of God is

both an individual experience and a social ideal. We should not forget that Jesus taught the gradual growth of the kingdom, while we freely and frankly admit that Jesus shared the hope of his contemporaries that God will some day manifest his power in sudden and terrible fashion. As explained in an earlier chapter, Jesus shared the current ideas of his time regarding angels and demons, regarding Hades and the life after death, regarding Old Testament events and authorship. In like manner he shared the current expectation of a great Day of Jehovah and the vindication of the faithful. But this should only serve to make all the more prominent the high ethical and spiritual ideas of the kingdom which permeated the heart of Jesus' religion.

THE KINGDOM AS A GREAT HOPE

Look at the fig tree and all the trees: When they put on their leaves, you notice it and have the feeling that the summer is near, so when you see these things happen, be sure that the kingdom of God is near (Lk. 21: 29, 30).

The kingdom is like a bit of yeast (Lk. 13: 20, 21). The kingdom of God is like a mustard seed which a man took and planted in his garden;—and it grew and became a tree and the birds settled in its branches (Lk. 13: 19. Cf. Dan. 4: 12).

The kingdom of God is like a man planting seed in the ground . . . first the spear of grass, then a head of grain, then the fully developed grain in the head (Mk. 4: 26, 28).

The coming kingdom was a hope which Jesus posited for the future. Jesus did not so much make special predictions regarding the future as he rather urged men to hope for better things to come. What our gospels contain is not so much a collection of fragments of his teaching, as a mosaic of his rich and splen-

did hopes of the future. To say that Jesus had a teaching regarding the kingdom of God is but another way of saying that he was an optimist. He saw the great possibilities in the men about him and he had great faith in God's love and God's power to bless. Jesus' confidence in the future impressed everyone about him. It was nothing short of sublime. He came into the cities of Galilee not to teach, but to urge preparation for the reign of God, beseeching his hearers to live now the life of the kingdom.

The kingdom was a part of Jesus' own life. It was the vision which led him on. It supplied him with motive power for his ministry. It is the secret of his majesty, simple yet vital in its appeal to the men and women of his time, empowering him to raise them above all the dreariness and meanness of life into an exalted walk with God.

The kingdom seemed to Jesus at times rather distant, and again it seemed very close and immediate. "The kingdom of God does not come by watching for it" (Lk. 17: 20) or by observable signs; for the kingdom is among you and within you. In other words, Jesus spoke of a great and glorious kingdom as coming and as almost here. Like all great prophets, he pictured future spiritual blessings with such immediate and vivid clearness that people reached out their hands to grasp them and make them their own. Thus Jesus enlarged their souls and brought them nearer to God.

The kingdom is both a reward and a task. As the German puts it, the kingdom is *Gabe und Aufgabe*. It is a blessing to the soul, a consummation of a hope, and it is also a responsibility and demands the highest that is in us. It corresponds, on the one hand, to the love of God as a Father, who blesses, and on the other hand to the thought of God as a Lord who will one day judge us according to our deeds.

The kingdom will spread as steadily and inevitably as the yeast permeates the dough into which it is put. It will grow as vigorously as the mustard seed which after a time becomes a real tree. Anyone who watches a blade of grass develop into

a stalk of wheat cannot but share in this great hope, this magnificent confidence which Jesus possessed, that the kingdom of God will some day possess the earth.

THE KINGDOM AS A BROTHERHOOD

"Bring in the poor and the crippled and the blind and the lame" (Lk. 14: 15-24).

"The messengers went out into the roads and gathered all the people they could find, whether good or bad; and the banquet hall was filled" (Matt. 22: 1-10).

"The Son of Man will send his angels and they will remove from his kingdom everything that is a hindrance or stumbling block and all who practice sinful living" (Matt. 13:41).

"How often am I to forgive my brother?" "Until seventy times seven" (Matt. 18: 21-35).

"Whoever wishes to be great among you must become your servant and whoever desires to have a chief place among you must minister to everyone" (Mk. 10: 42-44).

Until a century ago, the Christian religion represented for most people a way of gaining admission into heaven. This life was considered to be only a time of probation during which chosen human souls go through the process of salvation and fit themselves for their destiny in the skies. This is what is known as the "otherworldly" view of religion.

It is readily apparent that this would not be a true picture of the religion of Jesus. For the Jews of his day there was never any thought of heaven "up yonder" as a place where mortals gather after their earthly pilgrimage is over. "Heaven" for them was the dwelling-place of God and his angels. The "kingdom" of God was an earthly institution.

Recent decades have laid great emphasis upon the social

responsibility of religion. People now are looking forward more expectantly than ever before in history to a new social order and a new beautifying of human life and human relationships. They are no longer content to leave the world as it is while they lay up treasure in heaven which they will not use until after death. Men and women of vision are laying plans for a progressive socialized religion here on earth.

Great souls are increasingly devoting their lives to the promotion and the welfare of humanity in its evolving life on this planet. What a gratifying and remarkable discovery it is which recent Christian scholars have made in finding that Jesus' idea of the kingdom of God was concerned solely and entirely with an earthly commonwealth! In common with the Jews of his day, Jesus hoped for a new era when justice will prevail, when to justice will be added kindness and love, when brotherhood and service will find expression, when purity and strength of character will triumph.

Jesus in one particular adopted a Jewish mode of view which like demon possession and many another ancient idea, does not appeal to modern minds as natural. This is the so-called Jewish apocalyptic, the expectation that God will in a sudden and terrible manner interfere in human history and with heavenly portents bring about the consummation of the kingdom.

But the manner of the consummation is secondary, not primary. Jesus looked forward to a new birth of the world, and a new brotherhood among men. His teaching had two sides, the social and the individual.

Again, the contention that Jesus was more interested in the future kingdom of God than in the present life can no longer be upheld. The idea that Jesus told his followers how to live in the interval while awaiting the consummation of the kingdom is only a half truth. It might be said in the same way that modern social workers are not interested in the present, but in the future welfare of those who are to be helped.

Some of Jesus' instructions to his disciples were intended for the interim before the consummation (Lk. 10: 4). As in modern times, social settlements and foreign missions are often considered as not belonging to a perfected society, so in the words of Jesus there is an element of "interim ethics." But for the most part, his sayings portray the ideal life of imitation of God (Matt. 5: 43-48).

"The kingdom of heaven" is an expression found frequently in the Gospel of Matthew (13: 24, 31, 33, 45, 47). In parallel passages in Luke, the expression is "kingdom of God." Jewish feeling was accustomed to avoiding the name of deity. This explains Matthew's preference for the word "heaven." It is perfectly clear that when Matthew says the kingdom of heaven, he means a kingdom on earth. The kingdom is "of heaven" only in the sense that it originates in heaven and comes from there to earthly realization.

An essential item in the thought of a new brotherly order, as Jesus hoped for it, was that God is the one who inaugurates it and brings it to reality. In modern times, man has attained a confident attitude in which he has set out boldly and courageously to bring about the better day. Many a devoted soul has lost his God somewhere between a high-school course in mythology and a college course in philosophy or science, yet has started out to help save the world without God's assistance.

There are many leaders today, however, who feel the presence of a Power which is leading men onward and upward. It may well be that when modern social programs seem slow of realization men will fall back again upon the Christian religious conviction that God has in store greater blessings for his children than any which they can individually see and promote. Jesus' faith in the Father above was absolute and supreme. He did not fret or worry. He lived in the presence of God.

In the centuries before Jesus, the Jews had made repeated efforts to conquer the neighboring tribes and peoples. Jesus manifested keen insight into human nature in that he did not try to curb human feelings by giving prohibitions—Thou shalt not do this and thou shalt not do that. It is to him that man owes the great discovery that the instinct of rivalry and com-

petition can be satisfied by a competition in service: "He who would be great among you, let him be your servant; and he who would be chief, let him be servant of all" (Mk. 10: 43, 44).

Only in this spirit can Jesus' hope of the kingdom be understood. It is positive in its thought. It does away with law. It uses the fire of the soul in beneficial ways. It is the consecration of what is best and highest in the individual and in the nation to the service and happiness of all.

Democracy is one of the leading characteristics of the kingdom. When a man came to Jesus and exclaimed that it would be a great privilege to be among the invited guests when God prepared the banquet of the kingdom, Jesus replied with the story of Lk. 14: 15 ff.: "Go out into the streets of the city and bring in the poor and the crippled, the blind and the lame . . . then go out along the country roads and have the people come in." All classes and all peoples will join hands in one great fellowship.

Another characteristic of the kingdom will be the removal of evil influences and all causes of sin, and "all things that cause stumbling" (Matt. 13: 41). The idea so vital in all modern social programs, that environment has much to do with moral imperfection, was anticipated by the prophets and stated by Jesus. Not only will the righteous receive blessing, but men and women will be so situated that they will naturally want to do the noble deed and live the life of service.

Service, as has been so often stated, is the dominant note. The kingdom of God (Lk. 19: 11) is pictured in the story of the man who made good use of his opportunity while the man who kept his talent "laid up in a napkin" is denounced as worthless.

The story of the good Samaritan tells more plainly than any formal statement could do that the greatest thing in the kingdom of God is service in time of need, without regard to race or nation or creed or religion. "Whatever you would like men to do for you, do just that for them" (Lk. 6: 31).

The day is certainly coming—modern men of vision believe

it as confidently as did Jesus—when all men everywhere shall be filled with the spirit of the new day, and sin and the causes of sin shall be no more, when health and strength of body and soul shall create a new nation and a new world.

MODERN IDEAS OF THE KINGDOM

The terms "kingdom" and "king" are not very popular in twentieth-century America, especially since the World War. Opinion is widespread that kings will become fewer and fewer as history advances and that kingdoms will be superseded by republics and democracies and free states. Few people in America have ever seen a king or know anything directly about the administration of a kingdom.

Jesus was born in a kingdom. The traditional form of government among the Jews was the kingdom. They regarded their greatest era of prosperity as that of the days of King David and hoped for the restoration of that kingdom (Acts 1:6; Mk. 9: 12).

If Christian leaders of today should use the term "republic of God" they would be translating into American terms the archaic phrase "kingdom of God." The new name would have much more meaning and interest than the old. Even though values are inherent in the use of the old, there is no reason for not using both names, side by side, speaking both of the new kingdom which is to come and of the new and divine republic or democracy or commonwealth of the future.

God is king in the sense that his subjects do not elect a different sovereign every few years. On the other hand, the Christian religion has always preferred to call God, Father, a term which is much more appropriate to the idea of a republic. In the religion of Jesus, God is no longer a king in the old, Oriental sense. To be sure, some of our most widely recognized church catechisms teach that "The chief end of man is to glorify God." On the other hand, Jesus said that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.

In the republic of God of the future, God will be the representative of his people. The spirit of brotherhood in the hearts of his countless family is his spirit, an indwelling power which all who seek may find. This power Christians believe is eternal, absolute, omnipotent in the sense that God has been at work through all the ages of evolution and will finally prevail over every obstacle and become supreme throughout the world.

The international emphasis is very marked in the religion of Jesus. According to the earliest sources of our gospels, he admires the faith of the Roman centurion (Lk. 7: 2) and tells the story of the good Samaritan (Lk. 10: 30). In the twentieth century, as never before in history, internationalism is superseding nationalism. War has been outlawed and will become obsolete as a means for settling international disputes. There will be a parliament of the nations, a league of the peoples, a fraternity of races, a spirit of service expressed by one country toward another, especially toward one in particular need.

America would seem to be the nation chosen of God to lead in the realization of a new era of human brotherhood. Battle-ships and economic prosperity cannot do it. Only the spirit of service, as exemplified in the personal religion of Jesus can attain the great goal. In America as nowhere else is the melting-pot of the nations. Here leaders of vision are needed who can interpret the peoples, one to another, who can give them visions of the fatherhood of God, who can inspire men and women to attain the high ideals of brotherhood which the future holds.

The childhood of the human race stretches back many thousands of years. No historian can be a pessimist. When he considers what the human race was 50,000 years ago in its savagery and destitution, he is vividly impressed by the advance which has been gained. Living conditions, governments, science and invention, art and religion, all tell the same story.

In 1928, a newspaper article announced that the scourge of yellow fever had at last been completely vanquished. At the time the article was published, there was not on record anywhere in the world a single case of that terrible human affliction.

Men now know only through printed statistics that as late as a century ago this pestilence was in the habit of striking cities of Europe and slaying from a quarter to a third of the entire population.

This is only one example out of many hundreds. Disease and crime and every kind of evil are being understood more thoroughly with every passing year. Health of body and mind and spirit are being constructed carefully and constantly. Idealism and courage and purity of purpose were never so much needed nor so much appreciated as today. American youth is seeing the vision which Jesus saw in Galilee. The kingdom of God is at hand. The spiritual brotherhood proclaimed by the religion of Jesus is not far distant.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Burton, Teaching of Jesus, pp. 256-274.

Kent, Life and Teaching of Jesus, pp. 167-176.

Mathews, The Social Teaching of Jesus.

McCown, The Genesis of the Social Gospel, pp. 3-36, 329-378.

Peabody, Jesus Christ and the Social Question.

Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis.

Walker, Teaching of Jesus and Jewish Teaching, pp. 311-350.

Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. I, pp. 364-408; Vol. II, pp. 340-383.

Zenos, Plastic Age of the Gospel, pp. 74-107.

Chapter XIV

THE INNER DYNAMIC OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS

HIS GENIUS IN SELECTING THE BEST

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want (Psa. 23: 1).

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself (Lev. 19: 18).

Create in me a clean heart (Psa. 51: 10). Neither shall they learn war any more (Isa. 2: 4).

The religion of Jesus synthesized the highest spiritual ideals of the Hebrew race. The more men study Jesus, the more they are impressed by his genius in perceiving what was of lasting and eternal value in the varied religious attitudes of his time. Remarkable also was his capacity to leave aside and to subordinate the unimportant and the incidental.

The fatherhood of God was a conception which had been developing through centuries of Jewish thought. It is beautifully expressed in many gems of Hebrew literature. The 23rd Psalm is one of the best portrayals in world literature of the loving, gentle care of the great Shepherd. "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want."

Other peoples were telling of the nearness of God. Epictetus taught that we are "fragments of God." Stoicism held to a belief in the close kinship of God and man. This religious truth that God is our father, however, Jesus made a corner stone of his religion. He was constantly telling his followers about the love of God for his children. He understood the human soul so sympathetically and knew God so well that he naturally expressed

those eternal truths which men in all ages have been discovering about God, and which God has been revealing to his earthly children.

The brotherhood of man is a corollary of the fatherhood of God. Men everywhere have been feeling their way toward this truth. In a recent "World Congress of Religions" there was some difficulty in finding a common basis of agreement, until the idea of human brotherhood was suggested. All religions of the world were able to agree upon this concept as fundamental. Upon its assumptions they were able to build plans for cooperative and international fellowship and progress.

The Hebrew Scriptures plainly state the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. 19: 18). While it may be claimed that this precept had originally a rather narrow application and was perhaps an expression of tribal solidarity, nevertheless the Hebrew religion was constantly enlarging its ideas of the word "neighbor." In the time of Jesus, the Jews were rapidly becoming more liberal in their attitude toward other nations and in their recognition of the possible place of Gentiles in the messianic kingdom.

This increasingly recognized truth of the brotherhood of man Jesus built into the foundation of his religion. The two complimentary teachings of the love of God and the love of man make up what is usually regarded as the essence of his religion. In Luke 10: 25 ff. the lawyer asked "What shall I do to attain the life of the age to come?" Jesus asked him what he found in his scripture. The lawyer's answer reflects the nobility of the better Jewish religion of the time. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God . . . and thy neighbor as thyself." Jesus told the man that if he would follow this commandment of the Jewish Law, he would attain the life he desired. It was only in answer to the further question of the lawyer regarding the word "neighbor" that Jesus told the parable of the Good Samaritan.

The emphasis upon heart righteousness as distinguished from external acts of piety was another feature of growing prominence in the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament. The Psalms and the prophets constantly reiterated that Jehovah looks upon the heart. He has no respect for persons. "Renew a right spirit within me" was a constant cry not only of the Hebrew religion, but of all religions. There were many divergent tendencies in the Judaism of Jesus' day. Some of these gave larger place than others to the importance of ceremonial and legalistic rules and refinements. Jesus put his finger upon the tendency to emphasize heart righteousness, and felt that to be an essential element of religion.

The value of the individual soul was a growing idea in the time of Jesus. In the Old Testament day, the Hebrew nation was pictured as God's chosen people. Most of the Old Testament has to do with the saving of the Jews as a nation. On the other hand, it was becoming quite clear in the centuries before Jesus that not all Jews were worthy of entering the kingdom of God, while some outsiders were regarded as pleasing Jehovah by their purity of character.

The Psalms and some of the later prophets express God's interest in the individual who is in distress or who is striving to be loyal to his Lord. E. F. Scott is perhaps hardly fair to the Jewish religion when he says that in the religion of Jesus "for the first time man is considered as a personality" (Ethical Teachings, p. 19). As God was interested in his servant Job according to the story of the Old Testament, so in the religion of Jesus, the Father is not willing to let even an insignificant one perish (Matt. 18: 14). "Not a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice. The hairs of your head are all numbered" (Lk. 12: 6, 7).

Jesus' teaching regarding prayer is in line with his view of the importance of the individual in the sight of God. Jesus emphasized that tendency in Judaism which prayed not only for the coming of the kingdom as a national event, but also for God's help in the purification of the individual soul.

The kingdom of God was a Jewish conception which also had been developing for centuries. The messianic hope was, of course, not limited to the Jewish race. Plato, in his "Republic," and several Roman poets drew vivid pictures of the Golden Age. Many moderns are looking forward to the new day when a republic of God will become a reality among the nations. The religion of Jesus gives large place to this universal aspiration of humanity. Jesus never ceased to encourage his followers to hope for the kingdom of God and to prepare men for its advent.

THE DYNAMIC QUALITY WHICH HE IMPARTED

In focusing attention on the best ideals of his time, did Jesus add any quality which constituted an original element in his religion? The key to the discovery of any such quality ought to be found in those narratives which portray a good Jew asking Jesus if he requires anything beyond the keeping of the Commandments and the Jewish Scriptures. When the rich man (Mark 10: 17) came to Jesus and told him that he had observed the Commandments from the time of his youth, Jesus said to him that he still lacked something. The words which follow are all words of action: "Go," "Sell," "Give to the poor," "Follow." They are in rather striking contrast to the list of prohibitions of the preceding verses.

It might be possible to understand the passage as meaning that the rich man should merely get rid of his wealth in the easiest possible manner. That this was not Jesus' meaning is shown by his answer to the lawyer who asked, "Who is my neighbor?" (Lk. 10.) To the lawyer Jesus told the parable of the Good Samaritan, which is plainly a story of active service to a fellow man. Both incidents indicate the dynamic quality which Jesus put into his religion. His instructions are not in the realm of temple service or ceremonial observances or of avoiding of certain sins, but are injunctions to positive conduct and action.

This does not mean that Jesus found the essence of religion in social service. It means rather that Jesus taught that social service is the surest way to find God the Father and to enter into fellowship with the eternal spirit of love. Many a modern man has asserted that his only religion is to be of help to his fellow man. Jesus would probably point out that such a man has but made a good beginning. True religion, for Jesus, is the finding of eternal values and the attainment of the higher life, through service to our fellows.

EARLY HEBREW MORALITY

Thou shalt not steal,
Thou shalt not bear false witness,
Thou shalt not covet (Ex. 20: 15-17).

The Ten Commandments are fairly representative of the earlier Hebrew religion: "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me," "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal." The extreme negative quality of these Old Testament injunctions strikes the modern reader forcibly. Only one of the Ten Commandments has a positive tone—"Honor thy father and thy mother." Closer study shows that this commandment also is a warning that those who dishonor or neglect their parents will have their days cut short.

Even that greatest of the Old Testament Commandments, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. 19: 18), cannot be separated from the rest of the sentence in which it occurs, "Thou shalt not take vengeance against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." In early Old Testament time, this commandment had little of the marvelous spirit of helpful service which Jesus later associated with it. In Matthew 5: 43, Jesus says, "You have heard that it used to be said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy,' but I tell you, Love your enemies and pray for those who mistreat you." Jesus illustrates his meaning by telling of the positive blessings which the Heavenly Father sends to both the good and the bad, in making his sun to rise and the needed rain to fall. The Old Testament injunction against taking

vengeance on one's neighbor has for Jesus become a command to help and to bless both neighbor and enemy.

The same principle holds in his revision of the Old Testament law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" (Matt. 5: 38). I tell you, says Jesus, do not strike back or demand retribution. Nor should you be merely negatively non-resistant. But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other cheek to him. The thought of Jesus is perfectly clear. He will not allow his disciples to strike back, or to demand an eye for an eye. Nor will he allow his disciples to suffer injury and do nothing about it; such a procedure is too negative. Jesus' religion is positive. A man must express himself vigorously and actively. The turning of the other cheek is not easy. It demands initiative and may develop personality.

When a modern mother tells her boy to count ten before he strikes back, she sometimes gives the boy the unfortunate impression that he should merely wait and do nothing. Inactivity is poor advice. But if the mother is supplying the boy with a program of action, if the counting is meant to be something positive and to lead the way to some better and nobler act than striking back, then the rule is a good one. Jesus recognized that it is the essence of the human personality to be actively expressing itself. Instead of saying, Do not hate your enemies, he told men to use the fire of their nature in doing good to those who persecute. "Overcome evil with good" (Rom. 12: 21).

Among the Jews of Jesus' day, there were two schools of religion—one more literalistic, the other more liberal; the one headed by Shammai, the other by Hillel. Legend has it that the father of a boy, bringing him to enroll him for study in Jerusalem, came to Shammai and said, "I will enroll my boy in your school if you will sum up the Law and the prophets while standing on one foot." Shammai sent him off in disgust. Coming to Hillel, the father made the same proposition. Hillel answered easily and quickly, "Do not do to your neighbor anything that you would not like to have him do to you." This shows a broad view and deep spiritual insight into the character of the Law,

but stands in striking contrast to Jesus' positive expression of religion.

In this connection it is interesting to survey the stories of remarkable cures and of other wonder-deeds of Jesus' ministry and to compare them with corresponding stories of the Old Testament. Uzziah the king was smitten in the temple with leprosy (II Chron. 26: 20). Jeroboam, when he started to oppose the man of God, found that his hand suddenly withered up, so that he could not draw it back (I Kings 13: 4). The plagues of Egypt were all destructive. Jesus' deeds, however, were all constructive. The stories about him narrate beneficent acts. Jesus never smote anyone with leprosy, nor withered any hand. On the contrary, it is narrated that he healed lepers and restored withered members. His whole ministry was a beautiful expression of the outgoing love of God. The Gospel writers caught his spirit.

One of the highest expressions of religion in the earlier day is perhaps found in Micah 6: 6–8, Wherewith shall I come into the presence of Jehovah? Shall I come with burnt offerings; will he be pleased with thousands of rams, or with rivers of oil? He has shown you, O man, what is good; and what does Jehovah ask of you but to act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly before your God? Micah's expression is remarkable for its clear distinction between religion of mere temple sacrifice and the religion of moral conduct in daily life. The ideal life is pictured in terms of justice and mercy and humility. These qualities are good, but they fall far short of the heights to which Jesus pointed. "Do good to those who hate you" (Lk. 6: 27). "If you do good to those who do good to you, what thanks have you?—even sinners do this" (Lk. 6: 34).

JESUS' STANDARD OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

"Anyone who wishes to be my disciple will renounce self, take up his cross daily and follow me" (Lk. 9: 23).

"The man who received the one talent went and dug a hole in the ground and hid his master's money" (Matt. 25: 18).

"Give something to anyone who asks of you. . . . If anyone forces you to go a mile with him, go two miles" (Matt. 5: 41).

Jesus of Nazareth . . . went about doing good and curing all who were under the power of the devil (Acts 10: 38).

Examples of the positive, dynamic quality of Jesus' religion are found throughout the gospels. The magnificent judgment scene pictured in the passage which has been called the greatest literary gem of all religious literature, clearly states the standard by which the great judge will distinguish between the sheep and the goats (Matt. 25: 31-46). "When I was hungry, you gave me to eat; when I was thirsty, you gave me a drink; when I was a stranger, you invited me to your homes; when I had no clothes, you supplied me with clothing; when I was ill, you looked after me; when I was in prison, you came to visit me."

The list of services rendered is simple but suggestive of the many acts of Christian brotherhood which in modern times and in every age give expression to the spirit of Jesus. The giving of "the cup of cold water" (Mk. 9: 41; Matt. 10: 42) symbolizes today the religion of Jesus wherever the gospel has been preached.

Again Jesus told a story of a man who had two sons. The first consented to help his father in the vineyard and later failed to keep his promise; the second refused to help, but later changed his mind and went to do the work. Which of the two, Jesus asked, did what his father wanted (Matt. 21: 28-31).

Then Jesus applied this lesson of service to some of the Jews of his day. There were hypocrites who were saying long prayers and making promises in the temple, which they did not keep. On the other hand, there were despised tax-collectors

and women of poor reputation who were doing deeds of kindness day after day (Matt. 21: 31, 32). Jesus associated with such people rather than with the self-righteous. He did not spend his time in idle or negative religion. He came as a great physician to help and to save the sick. "Those who are in good health have no need of a physician" (Mk. 2: 17; Lk. 5: 31). The Christian in modern times is often told that he must bear his cross patiently. "Patiently" is not exactly the meaning of the word Jesus used. He told his disciples that anyone who wished to follow him must "take up" his cross "daily" (Lk. 9: 23. Cf. Mk. 8: 34; 10: 21). Then follows the best-attested saying of Jesus, "He who aims to preserve his own self will lose his soul, while he who loses himself in the cause of the Gospel will find himself" (Mk. 8: 35; Lk. 9: 24). This saying occurs six times in the Gospels, as already noted.

The parable of the talents (Matt. 25: 14-30) is the most familiar story in which the expression of this positive quality of religion appears. The man who received five talents made five talents more. The man who received two talents, gained two more. The one-talent man hid his money in a hole in the ground, and when the day of reckoning came returned the talent safely to its owner. The lord rewarded the first two, but used language of strongest denunciation to the third. He had not stolen nor broken any of the Ten Commandments, or any injunction of the entire Old Testament code. Yet he is characterized as a "wicked and idle servant" (Matt. 25: 26).

The parable of the "Pounds" (Lk. 19: 11-27) is equally severe in its portrayal of the uselessness of the man who is only personally righteous and negatively perfect. The servant who went into business and gained ten pounds is set over "ten cities." The one who made five pounds is given authority over "five cities." But the man who kept his pound wrapped up in a handkerchief is rejected as a "wicked" and unprofitable servant.

It is this positive note which makes it possible to understand

some of Jesus' most difficult sayings. The turning of the other cheek is one way of showing the spirit that refuses to be conquered. It is easy to picture the disciples gathered around Jesus, asking him how to put his religion into practice. As he taught them the Lord's Prayer in answer to their request, so it is quite probable that he thus spoke in answer to their question, How can we show a positive spirit toward anyone who strikes us? The only positive act possible, they would say, is to strike back.

Again, some disciple would say to Jesus, Master, a man took away my coat. How can I do anything for him? Jesus' answer was clear, Give him your other coat (Lk. 6: 29). It is always possible, in Jesus' thought, to find some way of expressing positive personal initiative, even in the most extreme cases. It is not the particular action which concerns Jesus so much as the constant care which any human soul should exercise that it does not become a passive sufferer of wrong or injustice. There are three ways of meeting the evil things of life. One way is to return evil for evil. The second is to suffer without complaint. The third is to return good for evil, to assert the will and become master of any situation, through doing some act which makes necessary the expression of initiative.

What should I do, another disciple might ask Jesus, if a man forces me to carry his pack for a mile? Jesus' answer was positive and definite: Do not just set it down, breathe a sigh of relief and escape. You will not please God in that way. If there is nothing else you can do, you can at least offer to carry the pack a second mile (Matt. 5: 41).

This active dynamic quality of Jesus' personality is well illustrated in the scene in the temple at Jerusalem, where Jesus began to drive out those who were buying and selling. He was not content to merely quote the Hebrew Scripture, "My house shall be called the house of prayer" and to say that the temple was being made a "robbers' den." His religion stood for action. He overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of the dove-sellers, although he did not take the sword nor

do any personal injury to anyone (Mk. 11: 17). It was said of him, "Zeal for thy house shall eat me up" (John 2: 17).

Jesus did not merely preach to his disciples, "Say a prayer for those who injure you" (Lk. 6: 28). But he actually did on the cross pray for those who were persecuting him, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Lk. 23: 34). The religion of Jesus is not like the face of a Maud "Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null." It is rather a Joan of Arc riding forth in heroic self-forgetfulness, dauntless and courageous, to mighty deeds and victorious achievements.

This teaching of active service furnished a test of greatness for his disciples and the standard by which he measured his own mission. "If anyone wants to be great among you, let him be your servant, and if anyone wants to hold first place among you, he must be the slave of everybody" (Mk. 9: 43, 44). Jesus himself came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister" (Mk. 10: 45). His career is described in the few pointed words which an early Christian handed on to all coming generations: Jesus of Nazareth, filled with the holy spirit and with power, "went about doing good" and healing any who were afflicted (Acts 10: 38).

Modern Adaptations of Jesus' Spirit

In a modern University classroom, where the religion of Jesus was the subject of study, one of the members of the class had the misfortune to have his overcoat stolen. He had then been going about in the freezing winter weather for over a week, without any overcoat. Then came the classroom discussion of Jesus' saying about the coats. The student was suddenly asked if he would give his remaining jacket to the thief if he could find him. The unexpected question revealed the fact that there had been accumulating all those days a spirit of animosity and vengeance. He said in no uncertain terms what he would do to the thief if he could catch him.

In the face of a definite situation of this sort, the spirit of Jesus becomes very clear. He would not harbor any hatred toward the thief, but would rather feel a sense of pity and compassion. He would have a desire to help the thief to find some other line of work. Such a spirit of helpfulness is the modern equivalent to giving the other coat.

A superintendent of home missions of the State of Colorado was recently held up by a highwayman. Instead of showing any fear, or resigning himself to the situation, he began to help the robber by emptying his own pockets. He told him how sorry he was that the good brother of the highway should have to resort to such means to get what he wanted. He offered to do his best to get a good position for the brother. By such conciliatory methods, he asserted his own personality in a gentle and Christian way to such an extent that the robber soon returned everything he had taken.

The story does not end like a fairy tale. The robber did not come to get the steady position. He probably was not converted from the evil of his way. Nevertheless the story does serve perfectly to illustrate Jesus' initiative of turning the other cheek.

A teacher in a Middle West institution, in traveling on suburban cars, has adopted an interesting policy toward those who step on his toes in a crowd. He has trained himself to say quickly and politely, "I beg your pardon." The effect is always different, according to the personal character of the one who has committed the error. Once in a while the answer comes back, "It is I who should beg your pardon." That is the Christian answer. But more often the one who has committed the error says nothing, deciding to take advantage of the other's supposed impression as to who should ask the pardon.

Modern life is full of opportunities to express initiative. A man asked to contribute a certain amount to a good cause will do well, once in a while, to give more than he is asked. Everyone who lives the spirit of Jesus should find some cause to which he may give before he has been asked. If a man would borrow

of you, do not always give exactly what is asked. Go the second mile sometimes.¹

RELATION OF NEGATIVE TO POSITIVE RELIGION

"If you love only those who love you, what credit is that to you? . . . But love your enemies, and be constantly helpful, and your reward will be great, for you will in this way be sons of the Most High. He is kind to the unthankful and the bad. Be full of loving-kindness as your Father above is loving and kind" (Lk. 6: 32, 35, 36).

"A bad spirit roams through the country looking for a home . . . it finds it unoccupied . . . it goes and brings with it seven other spirits worse than itself and they go in and begin to live there" (Lk. 11: 24-26; Matt. 12: 43-45).

Thomas Chalmers, founder of the Free Church of Scotland, once preached a sermon entitled "The Expulsive Power of a New Affection." It is given in full by President Ozora S. Davis in his *Principles of Preaching*, pp. 96–120. This classic sermon is built upon the fact that a great ideal has emancipating power to lift the soul out of the bondage of habit and environment and to cure the character of weakness or disease. The young person who has been living a shallow existence, following the interests and desires of the moment, finds life suddenly taking on larger significance in the light of a great new affection. The new power expels all low desires or mean thoughts. "Thou shalt

University of Chicago Press, 1924.

Harnack: "What is Christianity?" page 63 (new edition page 68) has an interesting error of translation. The statement is made that a study of the sayings of Jesus "shows that the gospel is in no wise a positive religion." The word "positive" is a hasty attempt to translate the German word "positive". The German word is a legal term and refers to "statutory" law as distinguished from general principle. What Harnack really wrote was that the gospel of Jesus is not "statutory" law, but an expression of spirit.

not" is forgotten in the glad rush of new ambition and high idealism.

There used to be a popular notion that courage consisted in the conquering of one fear after another until all terrors had been overcome. Modern psychologists, however, have made it clear that courage is not an absence of fears, but an all-embracing conception of a great goal, the vision of which crowds out of the "hot-spot" of consciousness all lesser and lower thoughts. A soldier in battle conquers his fear not by thinking about the artillery, but by visualizing the victory which must be won. A man who is a slave to drink, or to any other bad habit, does not conquer it by fighting it directly, but by putting something better in its place.

There are three stages in the life of most children. There are the earlier years, when the child must be kept from harm by close, watchful care. The child is given a long list of prohibitions when it can understand them. In the second stage, a child is spurred to its best efforts by promises of rewards for excellence. This stage sometimes lasts throughout life. The third stage attained by many is one in which neither fear of disaster nor hope of gain predominates. One loves goodness and strength for its own sake, and finds that a noble ideal and a task of service, rather than the thought of material gain or failure, enriches life and frees it from petty sins and unworthy desires.

According to an old legend Bishop Ivo was walking along a country road one day when he met an old woman carrying an urn of water in one hand and a lighted torch in the other. Greatly interested, he stopped the woman and asked her what she was planning to do. She replied, "With the urn of water I am going to put out the fires of hell, and with the torch I am going to burn up heaven, that Christians may no longer serve God for fear of hell or hope of heaven."

Jesus made men forget about the Ten Commandments. He told them to give to the utmost, without hoping for anything in return. He advised his followers to invite to their homes those homeless ones who would not be able to return the invi-

tation. He begged them to love their enemies and to do good to all. In their deeds of service, they would thus imitate their heavenly Father (Lk. 6: 36).

Paul caught this spirit of Jesus and expressed it in many ways. "The love of Christ (that is, such a fullness of love as Jesus manifested in his ministry) controls and impels us" (II Cor. 5: 14). "Live by the spirit," he says, "and then you will not indulge physical cravings" (Gal. 5: 16). "The fruits which the spirit of Jesus produces are love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, gentleness, self-mastery" (Gal. 5: 22, 23).

The expulsive power of a new ideal which fills the soul is graphically pictured in one of the shortest and most remarkable of Jesus' parables. "When a bad spirit is expelled from a man it roams through the country in search of a home, and when it finds none, it says 'I am going back to the home which I left.' Returning, it finds its home unoccupied and swept and put in order. Then it goes and gets seven other spirits, worse than itself, and they go in and make their home there; and the last state of that man is worse than the first" (Lk. 11: 24–26).

THE DYNAMIC QUALITY INHERENT IN ALL PARTS OF JESUS' RELIGION

"I have found my sheep which was lost" (Lk. 15:4).

"The father ran and fell on his neck and kissed him" (Lk. 15: 20).

"Whoever would like to be first among you, let him be servant of all" (Mk. 10: 44).

"Not my will but thine be done" (Mk. 14: 36).

"Whatever you would like to have others do for you, do it for them" (Lk. 6: 31).

An appreciation of the outreaching, positive quality of Jesus' religion is the key to an understanding of the distinctive ele-

ments in his various teachings. For Jesus, God is no longer the Jehovah of the Old Testament day who sits upon a distant throne and is merciful toward those Jews who pass in judgment before him. For Jesus, God not only created the world in the beginning, but is constantly active in his work of blessing and helping mankind. Nowhere does the outreaching love of God appear more strongly than in the parables of the lost sheep and the lost son. He "goes in search of the one that is lost, until he finds it. And when he finds it he lays it on his shoulders in joy, and when he comes home he invites his friends and associates and says, 'Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep that was lost.' I tell you that in the same way there will be joy in heaven over one repentant sinner" (Lk. 15: 4-7).

The parable of the prodigal son pictures the father, not as merciful and forgiving, merely, but as going forth to meet the son. "While he was still a long way off, his father saw him and was sorry for him and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him" (Lk. 15: 20). The picture of the reception which follows gives a never-to-be-forgotten impression of the active, energetic, powerful affection of the heavenly Father.

This outreaching love of God is well presented in a recent essay by Karl Holl, Gesammelte Aufsätze, Vol. II (1928), p. 9 ff.: "Jesu Gottesbegriff: Gott sucht den Sünder. . . . Das ist dem Judentum fremd. . . . und ebenso dem Heidentum." Holl finds here the supreme distinction of Jesus' religion. Other religions may tell of God's love for righteousness, and for virtuous men and women. But the Christian religion advances beyond them all in telling of God's love for sinners. The Old Testament, to be sure, often mentions God's mercy toward those who have transgressed, but his mercy is that of a father who tries to forgive and forget. The glory of the Christian religion is that it pictures God as starting out in search of the sinner, to find him and befriend him and bring him back home.

In commenting on the parable of the lost sheep the Jewish commentator, Montefiore, says: "This verse (Lk. 15: 1) sums up one of the specific characteristics of Jesus and one of the new

excellencies of the Gospel. 'The sinners drew near to hear him.' Surely this is a new note, something which we have not yet heard in the Old Testament or of *its* heroes, something which we do not hear in the Talmud or of its heroes. . . . The virtues of repentance are gloriously praised in the rabbinical literature, but this direct search for, and appeal to, the sinner, are new and moving notes of high import and significance. The good shepherd who searches for the lost sheep, and reclaims it and rejoices over it, is a new figure."

Jesus' teaching of human brotherhood has the same dynamic quality. Jesus told his followers to do for others everything that they would like to have others do for them. He told them to do good to all alike. The Father above sends his rain and makes his sun to shine without regard to individual conduct. Those who were loyal to Jesus endeavored to follow his example in giving blessing and help to all those around them.

The Golden Rule, says Scott, "is found in the literature of various ancient peoples, but always in the negative form. The new element in the Gospel precept lies in its positiveness" (Ethical Teaching, p. 20).

It was undoubtedly this positive aspect of his religion which Jesus had in mind when he said that the most insignificant worker in the kingdom of God was greater than that outstanding representative of Judaism, John the Baptist (Lk. 7: 28). Negative religion of personal uprightness of character never had a greater champion than John. Yet the humblest worker who has caught the spirit of service is of greater religious significance than he.

Jesus' teaching concerning sin and righteousness drew a new line of distinction between the good and the bad. The old standard classed as virtuous those who knew the prohibitions of the law of Jehovah, doing penance for every transgression and keeping themselves undefiled and separate from the world. It classed as sinners those who were ignorant of the law and unconsciously broke some of its rules, as well as those who, in full knowledge of the law, defiled themselves by eating at the same table with the unclean, without atoning for the transgression. Jesus' new standard states that it is primarily the one who gives a drink of water, or visits the sick, or feeds the hungry, who finds favor in God's sight. It is not the interest in the poor and the outcast which is here the distinctive feature. The Old Testament is full of concern for the poor, and utters many a warning that God will not overlook any oppression of them.

The sinner is the one who fails to follow positive approach to God through service and helpfulness. He may, like the rich young ruler, have kept the whole law and failed to play the good Samaritan to his neighbor. He is a sinner in the sight of God. The righteous man is the one who has made good use of the opportunities intrusted to him and has proved a friend and brother to any neighbor in distress or need.

Likewise, prayer takes on a positive note. Jesus prayed on the last night, "Not my will but thine be done." Prayer, which in the old day was largely an uttering of petitions for blessings, became in the religion of Jesus, a giving of the soul to the will of God. The Jewish prayer, "Thy kingdom come," originally was a petition to Jehovah to send all those blessings which Jehovah was thought to have promised. Jesus added the significant words, "Thy will be done," and gave the whole petition a new meaning through that personal prayer on the last night. The asking of favors is essentially negative. But the striving, through prayer to bring the soul up into union with the divine, is essentially positive, active, expressive, outgoing, constructive, upbuilding.

The kingdom of God was for Jesus not merely a collection of blessings which men were to receive from God; the kingdom was a task and a responsibility. In the former days it was to be realized through the conquering and subjugating of the other nations. The whole world was to be brought under tribute and made to lay offerings upon the altar at Jerusalem. In his ministry, however, Jesus held that while the Jews were still the chosen people of God, they were chosen for a great service. This service consisted in preaching the good news of God's

love to the people and nations of the world. Jesus sent his followers out among the cities, to tell the news, to heal the sick, to comfort the afflicted, and to prepare the way for God to bring his kingdom to pass.

This large outlook of Jesus toward the service of humanity is effectively applied to the modern world by E. D. Burton in his essay, "Is the Golden Rule Workable between Nations?" ¹ If America is to realize her place among the nations of the world, it will be through large and signal services to the nations. The Golden Rule, says Burton, has two meanings—the negative and the positive:

"Negatively, it means that I shall abstain from conducting my own affairs to my advantage regardless of the welfare of others. . . . Positively, it means that I shall not only be polite and courteous to others because I myself like to be treated with courtesy, not only that I shall be a gentleman to all, but that I shall plan my whole life in such a way that it shall make the largest contribution to the welfare of the community."

Applied between nations, the Golden Rule means that a nation should "abstain from any course of action which . . . will work injustice to a neighbor nation or inflict on it any damage save such a damage as being incidental to some larger good any nation ought to be willing to suffer for the common good."

It is in the "positive" application of the Golden Rule between nations that Dr. Burton speaks with special prophetic insight. The essential characteristic of the Christian nation is that it be ready to share its blessings and its knowledge with other nations. It is in observance of this principle that "we establish schools in other lands, in which we teach not only the Bible and theology, but the physical sciences, medicine, history, political economy, and political science. It is incumbent on us also, as need arises, to give them our money" and help in time of need.

Is the Golden Rule workable between nations? The answer

¹ Christianity in the Modern World, 1927, pp. 139-150.

is that it is more workable between nations than between individuals. When nations set it at naught, the issues are farreaching and wide-spreading. It is more practicable between nations than between individuals because nations act with more deliberation, less under the influences of sudden passion than individuals. We must train ourselves to apply the Golden Rule positively and constructively. "The Golden Rule is—it is the only rule that is—workable between nations."

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Bundy, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 210-270.
Burton, Teaching of Jesus, pp. 175-178.

Case, Jesus, pp. 388-441.

Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus, pp. 128-150.
Glover, The Jesus of History, pp. 115-138.

Kent, Life and Teachings of Jesus, pp. 176-188.

King, Ethics of Jesus, pp. 191-203, 267-275.

Scott, The Ethical Teaching of Jesus, pp. 12-21, 120-129.

Wendt, Teaching of Jesus, Vol. II, pp. 384-401.

Chapter XV

THE FORCEFUL QUALITY OF HIS EXPRESSIONS

THE inner spiritual dynamic of the religion of Jesus is apparent to every earnest student. No appreciation of Jesus, however, is complete without a study of the effective ways in which he expressed his religion. Every great teacher not only has large ideas of life and truth, but also clothes those ideas in vigorous and decisive terms which, because of their striking and picturesque quality, lodge in the minds of the listeners and refuse to be forgotten. The story of the lost sheep and the parable of the prodigal son are remembered and treasured not only for their deep religious truth, but because of the rugged beauty inherent in their figures.

THE WIDE RANGE OF JESUS' ILLUSTRATIONS

"You are the salt of the earth" (Matt. 5: 13).

"The rains come, the rivers rise, the winds blow" (Matt. 7: 27).

"What did you go out into the desert to see? A reed waving in the wind?" (Lk. 7: 25.)

"I have wished to gather your children around me as a hen takes her chickens under her wings" (Lk. 13: 34).

"Blessed are they who are hungry and thirsty for righteousness" (Matt. 5: 6).

"Jesus called a little child to him . . . and said, 'Unless you become like children, you will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven'" (Matt. 18: 2).

"No one lights a lamp and then covers it with a bowl" (Lk. 8: 16).

"No one putting his hand on the plow and looking back is fitted for the Kingdom" (Lk. 9: 62).

"Make yourselves purses which will not wear out" (Lk. 12: 33).

A careful reading of the Gospels reveals the wide variety of figures and illustrations used by Jesus. In the realm of inanimate nature he uses the items of darkness and light and sun just as the Apostle Paul also does. But beyond that, Jesus has a long list of references to natural scenery which are not found in the list of Paul. The list includes heat, wind, cloud, shower, grass, floods, rock, mountain, fire, reed, tree, waterless places, morning. Many of these are found in the rich poetry of the Prophet Isaiah. But Jesus goes even beyond Isaiah in speaking of salt, earthquake, evening, lightning.

The list of animals which Jesus uses as illustrations continues the story of the wealth of his imagery. Paul refers to the sheep and the ox; there his list ends. Jesus' list includes dog, viper, vulture, snare, worm, moth, lamb, dove; Isaiah has these and a few others. But neither Isaiah nor Paul mentions any of the further items of Jesus' world of animal life: Swallow, wolves, goat, fox, fish, ass, camel, scorpion, gnat, hen, chicken.

A similar list can be presented in the realm of the activities of the physical body; another in the realm of family relations; another in the field of social customs. In this last list Jesus goes beyond Isaiah and Paul in speaking of seeking, knocking, sons of the bride chamber, marriage feast, dinner, supper, chief seat, cup and platter, taking of bread, lamp-stand, beating, binding, reclining at table, weeping and gnashing, heating, sweeping, putting wines into skins, children playing, whitening sepulchers, giving alms; all of these social customs Jesus uses to illustrate his ethical and spiritual teaching and message.

A similar list of building and agricultural activities may be suggested. Jesus goes beyond Isaiah or Paul in speaking of

grapes, blade and ear and corn, plowing, thrashing, tares, brambles, mustard seed, digging and dunging, gathering into barns. In the field of business and occupational relationships Jesus alone speaks of the lender, talents and pounds, the shepherd, the fisher and the net, the pearl merchant, the householder, going to a far country, gaining by trading. Political references and allusions to military affairs comprise another list, although it does not markedly excede the references of other biblical writers.

Finally, a search of his references to Old Testament material shows that they exceed even those of the Apostle who was trained under Gamaliel. Jesus, but not Paul, refers to Noah and the Flood; to the Queen of the South; to Solomon; to the killing of the prophets; and to the jot and tittle of the law, to Elijah, Jonah, the men of Nineveh, Lot and Lot's wife.

THE RADICAL QUALITY

"The righteous will shine like the sun" (Matt. 13: 43).

"I saw Satan, fallen, like a flash of lightning from the sky" (Lk. 10: 18).

"The hairs of your head are all counted" (Matt. 10: 30).

Not only is there wealth of power in the wide range of Jesus' illustrations, but also distinct forcefulness in the individual sayings. One of the most striking is the radicalness of their physical bases. To emphasize a truth or principle Jesus often compares it with some object, action, or relation which is the most radical of its class, in quantity or quality. The righteous shine not as the stars nor as the brightness of the firmament (Dan. 13: 3), but as the sun (Matt. 13: 43).

To be sure, Isaiah can speak of a sevenfold sunlight (Isa. 30: 26), but Jesus never oversteps the natural, and would make no gain by doing so. Satan falls from heaven not as the

day star (Isa. 14: 12), but as the down-flashing lightning (Lk. 10: 18). Exceeding minuteness compared with great possibilities of growth has often been noted in Jesus' illustration of the mustard seed (Lk. 17: 6). A drag-net, similarly, is the specific kind of net cited by Jesus, which catches all kinds of fish, and is hauled up on the beach, that the baskets may be filled (Matt. 13: 47).

Matthew ascribes to Jesus a peculiarly radical expression, "serpents, offspring of vipers" (Matt. 23:33). The camel going through the eye of the needle is so extreme a figure that the reader hunts for some mollifying interpretation of the passage (Lk. 18: 25). The hairs of the head have each one its number (Matt. 10: 30). To cut off a hand or a foot, and to cut out an eye, are expressions the very radicalness of which have opened men's eyes to the metaphorical quality of the passage (Mk. 9: 43-47). Jesus' expression for renunciation of married life is no less radical (Matt. 19: 12). Again, he likens his simple-hearted disciples not to youths or children, but to babes (Lk. 10: 21; Matt. 11: 25). The affectionate relationship which should exist between members of the kingdom of God is for Jesus not sufficiently described by the term "brother," but would seem to be a combination of the beauties of relationship of mother, brother, and sister (Mk. 3: 34-35; Matt. 12: 49-50; Lk. 8: 21).

Extreme indeed is the contrast between the joy of sitting down with Abraham, and the chagrin of those outside who gnash their teeth (Lk. 13: 24–29; cf. Psa. 119: 10). The parable of the feast, in Matthew 20, shows the same absolute quality. The host is a king; the guest of honor his own son; the occasion is his marriage; the men who decline the invitation are murderers; he who accepts, but appears without the garment, is not only cast out, but bound hand and foot beforehand.

Another contrast appears when he speaks of the bread of children which is thrown to the dogs (Mk. 7: 27; Matt. 15: 26). It is so extreme that it keeps interpreters busy explaining Jesus' attitude toward the Syro-Phœnician woman. Casting pearls be-

fore swine is just as radical a procedure, as is also the giving of what is holy to the dogs. One who puts his hand to the plow and so much as looks back is not fit for the kingdom.

Other illustrations are numerous. One of the clearest and most easily understood is contained in the story of the man who owes ten million dollars and attacks his brother, who owes only a hundred denarii. The contrast between ten million dollars and eighteen dollars is sometimes missed by the reader of the American standard version, because the terms "talents" and "shillings" are unfamiliar (Matt. 18: 23).

Again, the conduct of the man who pays a day's wages for one hour's work from five until six o'clock (Matt. 20: 12) is too strong to be understood without considerable thought. Exceptional, too, the story of the man who sold all he had to buy the field containing the hidden treasure (Matt. 13: 44), and that of the pearl-fancier who bought a single pearl at the same exhaustive price.

It seems a severe punishment to tie a millstone about a criminal's neck and throw him into the sea. But the figure is not so mildly put by Jesus. He pictures a millstone so large an animal is required to turn it (Mk. 9: 42), the place is the deepest part of the sea; and the drowning is so absolute that the English version cannot reproduce the intensity of the original words.

Even crucifixion, the most disgraceful form of legal execution, is intensified into the figure of the man going in search of a cross and taking it up daily (Lk. 9: 23, and elsewhere). Again Jesus' metaphorical references to the Old Testament are often made to the most unusual scenes or characters. The all-destroying flood in the days of Noah, and the terrific destruction of Sodom (Lk. 17: 26; Matt. 24: 37) are examples. Note the detailed story of Dives and Lazarus. Here the sumptuous fare and the outer garments of the rich man contrast sharply with the extreme sufferings of the beggar. Abraham's bosom, the flame, the tip of the finger, and the great separating gulf further vivify the illustration as told by the master maker of parables.

EXCLUSION OF NON-CONTRIBUTING DETAILS

"I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions" (Lk. 10: 19).

"The kingdom of God is like a grain of mustard seed which a man planted in his garden; and the seed grew and became a tree, and the birds of the heavens lodged in its branches" (Lk. 13: 19).

"If one of you has a hundred sheep and has lost one, does he not leave the ninety and nine and go after the lost sheep?" (Lk. 15:4).

Another element of power in Jesus' illustrations is the exclusion of non-contributing details. Jesus never gives his fancy free play; much less does he allow the poetry of a thing, or its artistic form, to run away with him. The spirit of the prophet is always subject to the prophet. Herein lies a great source of power. Power moves in a straight line, and strikes its blow directly at its object. With all the poetry of the Old Testament literature in his mind, Jesus could have framed his teaching in elaborate figures, but he never yielded to the temptation. He does not start the sun like a bridegroom coming forth from his chamber to run a race (Psa. 19: 5). The sun is used with the utmost simplicity, as an illustration of the shining of the righteous.

Jesus pictures the Satanic downfall as but a single flash (Lk. 10: 18), although he probably had in mind the marvelous presentation of the 14th of Isaiah. He knows the fourth chapter of Daniel, and Ezekiel 17: 22 ff., but he paints no tree reaching to heaven, and spreading to the ends of the earth. He does not feed all flesh from this tree, but simply calls up the vastness of these Old Testament pictures by the suggestive image of the birds, which is common to both. At the same time, he does not overstep the modesty of nature (Lk. 13: 19). In using metaphors, great power is achieved by suggesting the largest

amount of appropriate detail in the fewest possible words. The figure of the mustard seed is uniquely effective, because of its combination of simplicity of structure and vast possibilities of growth.

When Jesus speaks about hunger or thirst in a spiritual sense (Matt. 5: 6) he doubtless has in mind the whole range of illustrations to be found in such a passage as Isaiah 55: 1, but he simply mentions, without adornment, the two bodily needs and their satisfaction. There is no exhortation not to spend money for that which is not bread, or to buy without price.

Similarly, the figure of treading upon serpents and scorpions is not amplified, but decidedly condensed from its source in Psalms 91: 13. And Jesus' illustrations from shepherd life (cf. Matt. 10: 6) are also strikingly concise.

It has been said that the story of the prodigal son is an elaborated and ornamental narrative. The real fact is that many details of fanciful imagination are carefully excluded. Isaiah 55: 2; 44: 22; Proverbs 29: 3, Isaiah 61: 10, Zech. 3: 2-5, and other references are suggestive of the flowery anguage which Jesus might have used. In particular contrast with Jesus' parable is the fourteenth chapter of Hosea, which has been called the Old Testament parallel to the story of the prodigal son.

Another instance of the exclusion of all nerely poetic material is found in what Jesus says to his disciples at the Last Supper. In very simple language he likens the outpoured wine to his own shed blood. Jesus did not attempt such poetic imagery as did the writer of Ecclesiastes 12, making no mention of the loosing of the silver cord, or the breaking of the golden bowl or of the pitcher at the fountain, or of the wheel at the cistern. The foam and the mixture, and the dregs and the draining of them (Psa. 75: 8) are absent. It is not a "cup of staggering," or the "bowl of a cup of wrath" (Isa. 51: 22). It does not make him "reel to and fro and be mad" (Jer. 25: 15–17). It is simply a "cup." But the one word is stronger than the many.

Often Jesus keeps out distracting details to such an extent that at first glance the interpretation of the saying is uncertain, as in the saying with regard to the unfinished tower. The principle involved, however, makes clear many of his extremely abbreviated remarks. "If a man strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other." As Wendt expressed it, Jesus was unique in his art of combining popular intelligibility with impressive pregnancy of meaning.

"Of the bramble men do not gather grapes" (Lk. 6: 44) is but a suggestion of the extended metaphors of Isaiah 5: 22 ff., regarding vineyards and grapes, and briers and thorns. And where in all literature is a story to be found which has larger meaning, yet is condensed into such a short compass, as the parable of the lost sheep? For contrast, it is only necessary to turn to such a passage as Ezekiel 34: 11-31. As examples of effective brevity and straightforwardness the parables of the talents and of the pounds are unsurpassed.

DEFERRED APPLICATIONS

"Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees" And they began discussing among themselves, saying, "It is because we took no bread" (Matt. 16: 6-7).

"Let him sell his cloak and buy a sword" (Lk. 22: 36; cf. 38).

"There is no one who has left house, or brothers, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or land ... but will receive a hundredfold" (Mk. 10:29, 30).

"She is not dead, but is asleep" (Mk. 5: 39).

A fourth element of power in the sayings of Jesus is the delayed spiritual application of some striking statement. When Jesus spoke to his disciples about the leaven of the Pharisees, for instance, he let them think at first that he was speaking about literal yeast. When they had pondered over the saying long enough to fix it in their consciousness, he explained his meaning.

Again, when he asked his disciples to find out how many swords they could muster in case of need, they apparently set about the task in great earnest, perhaps hoping at last he was to assume military leadership. When they could find but two swords, he laconically says, "That is enough" (Lk. 22: 38).

In the case of the raising of the daughter of Jairus, everyone recognizes the impressiveness of Jesus' statement that she only slept and was not dead. When Jesus speaks of digestion and its accompanying bodily processes, his disciples insist impatiently that he explain what he means; then he proceeds to do so (Matt. 15: 10-20).

Other interesting instances of deferred application of the spiritual truth may be seen in the saying with regard to the destruction of the temple and its rebuilding in three days and in the reference to the mote and the beam (Lk. 6: 41).

EFFECTIVE REVERSAL OF PREVIOUS FIGURATIVE USAGE

"You are the salt of the earth" (Matt. 5: 13).

"And he took the city and slew the people; and he beat down the city and sowed it with salt" (Judges 9: 45).

"The miry places and the marshes shall not be healed; they shall be given up to salt" (Ezek. 47: 11).

"He turns rivers . . . into thirsty ground; and fruitful land into a salt desert" (Psa. 107: 34).

"To what shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like leaven" (Lk. 13: 20, 21).

"Take heed and beware of the leaven" (Matt. 16: 6).

"Come and follow me and I will make you fishers of men" (Mk. 1: 17).

"I will send for many fishers and they shall fish them up . . . and they shall hunt them from every mountain . . . and I will recompense their iniquity and their sin double" (Jer. 16: 16-18). "As the fishes that are taken in the evil net and as the birds that are caught in the snare, even so are the sins of men" (Eccl. 9: 12).

A fifth element of power in Jesus' sayings is the effective reversal of the previous usage of striking words. "Salt" had been used in a bad sense, not only by the Jews, but by Semitic people in general, as shown by Assyrian inscriptions and other sources. The saltness of the Dead Sea was one of the associations of the word. There was the story of Lot's wife, turned into a pillar of salt. The Old Testament has many passages reflecting the idea (Judges 9: 45; Ezek. 47: 11; Psa. 107: 34).

When Jesus called his disciples "salt" the remark must have startled and perhaps offended them. But all the more powerful would be the impression of his saying, when once they understood his meaning.

"Leaven" also was generally used in a bad sense figuratively. Even Jesus himself so uses it. The disciples must have done some acute thinking when Jesus told them that the kingdom of Heaven itself is like leaven. Their attention must have concentrated upon the one idea of the silent spreading and assimulating quality of the leaven.

"Fishing" had been used very widely and unfortunately, as applied to the catching of men. Hostile armies are fishers who shall fish the people of Israel out of the land to die (Jer. 16: 16). Other Old Testament passages (Amos 4: 2; Hab. 1: 15; Eccl. 9: 12) may be supplemented to show occurrences of the figure in a bad sense.

Perhaps the most interesting instance of Jesus' reversal of the ordinary sense of an illustration is noted in his references to infants and children. The current Jewish conception of the child is shown in Paul's epistles; to him the child represents a low stage of development, out of which one must grow as rap-

¹ In classical Greek compare Homer, *Iliad*, VI: 46; Her. I: 86; Plato, *Laws* VIII: 68-B. It is interesting to note that Socrates also uses the idea of "catching men" in a good sense (Xenophon *Mem.* 11: 6).

idly as possible (Rom. 2: 20; I Cor. 3: 1; 4: 14; 13: 11; 14: 20; Gal. 4: 19). In striking contrast to these concepts, Jesus not only calls his own disciples "babes" (Lk. 10: 21; cf. Matt. 11: 25), but he takes the child as an ideal symbol of the perfect spirit which men should have toward the Kingdom of God (Mk. 10: 15, 16; Matt. 19: 14; 18: 3, 4).

JESUS' USE OF ANTITHESES

"It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fail" (Lk. 16: 17).

"You blind guides who strain out a gnat and swallow the camel" (Matt. 23: 24).

"Consider the lilies. . . . Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these" (Lk. 12: 27).

"We pipe to you and you do not dance; we weep and you do not weep" (Lk. 7: 32).

A sixth feature of Jesus' power lies in his use of antitheses. He contrasts the minute with the infinite. The sweep of heaven and earth is set against the microscopic "tittle," the dotting of an "i" to distinguish between one letter and another. Ten thousand talents, or ten million dollars, is a large sum to set over against a little debt of a hundred "pence," or a hundred shillings. The gnat is contrasted with the heavy bulk of the ungainly camel. A most effective cartoon could be drawn to picture the process by which a patriarchal Pharisee tries to open his mouth and throat sufficiently wide to accommodate, first the head, then the long fuzzy neck, then the hump, then, as Glover has said, "a second hump." The ridiculousness of the picture exhibits the extreme quality found in many of Jesus' contrasts.

But it is not always the large and the small which make up the antitheses of Jesus. He often contrasts the unique and the common. The somber magnificence of Solomon's court is coarser and poorer than the beauty with which God clothes one of the lilies of the field, lilies which the disciples possibly at the time were treading underfoot by the dozen.

Antithetical characteristics and natures are also contrasted by Jesus. Light and darkness (Matt. 6: 23; Lk. 11: 35), figs and thorns (Lk. 6: 44), good fruit and rotten (Lk. 6: 43), wolves and lambs, doves and serpents (Matt. 10: 16), pearls and swine (Matt. 7: 6) are examples of an almost endless list.

Opposite ways of behavior furnish another group of contrasts. Dancing is thus opposed to weeping (Lk. 7: 32) and putting a lamp under the bed is in extreme contrast to putting it upon a lamp-stand (Matt. 5: 15). The Pharisee in his self-righteous prayer is a fine foil for the publican's self-denunciation (Lk. 18: 10); the Father's house of prayer has not merely been disgraced; it has become a den of robbers (Mk. 11: 17; cf. Isa. 56: 7; Jer. 7: 11).

CHANGING A NEGATIVE TO A POSITIVE

"If your eye is bad, your whole body will be dark; if the light that is in you is darkness, how intense must that darkness be" (Matt. 6: 23).

"If any man wishes to follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross" (Mk. 8: 34).

"Do for others everything that you would like to have them do for you" (Matt. 7: 12).

Much has been said in the previous chapter in regard to the positive quality of Jesus' teaching. Our purpose just here is to cite the fact that Jesus often directly changed a current negative use to its corresponding positive significance.

The clearest example is his use of the term "darkness," usually thought of simply as the absence of light. But the effective comparison of righteousness to light suggests the comparison of wickedness to darkness. Wickedness is far from being a negative quality. Jesus seems to conceive of an eye which admits into the body a radiating essence of darkness, which

floods the whole body with its blackness. It is as powerful a conception as would be the idea of a heavenly ball of blackness so intense that it could hide all the rays of the sun and extinguish all life from the earth. Having such a diseased eye, filling the soul with this sort of evil is far worse than having no eye at all.

A similar quality belongs to Jesus' figure of providing purses which shall endure. Others might teach that money is not a blessing (I Cor. 7: 29); but Jesus, making a negative into a positive, advises men to lay up treasure—the kind of treasure which cannot be stolen.

Similarly, the negative idea of non-marriage, Jesus converts into a startling and positive figure of an aggressive, spiritual renunciation of marriage for the kingdom of heaven's sake (Matt. 19: 12).

The current idea that Jesus' religion teaches one to bear his cross bravely is only half right. What he did and what he asked others to do was to find a cross and *take it up*. He turns the negative metaphor into a positive one.

COMBINATION

"Beware of false teachers, who come to you in sheep's skins, but, inwardly, are ravenous wolves" (Matt. 7: 15).

"Why do you look for the splinter in your brother's eye, and do not perceive the beam in your own eye?" (Matt. 7: 3).

"My yoke is easy and my burden is light" (Matt. 11: 30).

"Does not the Scripture say, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations'? but you have made it a 'den of robbers'" (Mk. 11: 17).

"If the blind guide the blind, both of them will fall into a ditch" (Matt. 15: 14).

A further way in which Jesus secures power in his sayings is by a combination of figures or pictures. The combination is not a mere collecting of two or more separate items, but is a remarkable fusion and blending. The antithesis of the wolfish prophet and the innocent sheep becomes a combination which secures unity by the vivid figure of putting the wolf inside the sheep's clothing.

One of the most striking examples of this skillful unification is seen in the Pharisee's prayer (Lk. 18: 11) where he speaks of "this Publican." That little phrase binds the pictures of the two characters together, so that they are seen in focus.

There seems to have been frequent reference to some man's lack of vision as being due to a speck in his eye. One rabbi would say, "Take the splinter out of your eye," and another would answer, "Take the beam out of yours," but Jesus has the combination scene of a man with a beam in his eye straining to see the mote in his brother's eye.

A very beautiful combination of figures is that of the yoke and the burden. The yoke is often used in the Old Testament to represent taxation, bondage, and sin (I Kings 12: 4; Jer. 2: 20; Lam. 1: 14). The figure of the burden of iniquity or trouble is equally used (Psa. 38: 4; 55: 22), but where are the two bound together into one figure? Isa. 9: 4 is not a case at point. Jesus' picture, however, shows a man with a galling yoke to which a particularly heavy burden is attached. Jesus offers an easy-fitting yoke; even so the burden hung from it is light.

When Jesus cleansed the temple, he took his phrase, "house of prayer," from Isaiah 56: 7, and his "den of robbers" from Jeremiah 7: 21. The combination is a powerful one.

Likewise widely separated in the Old Testament are the picture of the stone of stumbling (Isa. 8: 14) and the picture of the stone which struck the composite image (Dan. 2: 34, 35; cf. Psa. 118: 22). But Jesus combines the three passages into the single image of a great stone upon which men fall and are hurt while it is stationary; but later, as it is loosened and

crashes down the slope, it scatters as dust whatever sets itself up in its pathway (Lk. 20: 18).

Perhaps the best remembered of Jesus' combinations of this sort is that of the blind guides. The picture of a blind man being led along the street is a common one in Palestine. The blind guide is a frequent reference in the Old Testament (Isa. 56: 10; 42: 19; 42: 16; 6: 10), but the intense brevity and power of Jesus' picture of one blind man trying to lead another blind comrade is apparent to everyone. When the ditch or pit is placed in front of them, the vividness is still further heightened.

In fact, Jesus often combines two previously independent figures and adds a still further element. This is the explanation of the effectiveness of the story of the unclean spirit expelled and wandering through the desert, finally returning with companions (Lk. 11: 24, 25; cf. Matt. 12: 43, 44). The imagery is largely from Isaiah 13: 21-22 and 34: 14.

Another example is that of the strong man armed (Lk. 11: 21), where the imagery is from Isaiah 40: 10; 49: 24, 25; 53: 12). Jesus' figure has compacted the Old Testament references into one by the use of the comparative "stronger." A strong man considers himself safe, especially when fully armed and intrenched in his own home. But a stronger man may appear with overturning power.

NATURALNESS

"Those who do right will shine like the sun" (Matt. 13: 43).

"The Kingdom of God is like a mustard seed which a man took and planted in his garden. The seed grew and became quite a tree and the birds roosted in its branches" (Lk. 13: 19).

"I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions" (Lk. 10: 19).

"You Pharisees clean the outside of the cup and the

platter, while inside you are full of wickedness" (Lk. 11: 39).

"He will separate the people as a shepherd separates sheep from goats, placing the sheep on his right and the goats on his left" (Matt. 25: 32).

"No one lights a lamp and then sets it in a cellar, or hides it with a cover, but he sets it on a lamp-stand" (Lk. II: 33).

"No one tears a piece from a new garment and puts it upon an old one; if he does, he will not only tear the new garment, but the patch from the new will not match the old" (Lk. 5: 36).

The ninth element of power in Jesus' sayings may be designated as naturalness. The more Jesus' words are compared with those of the Old Testament or of other religious writings, the more clearly the fact stands out that his teaching kept close to the natural and the probable. The student of Jesus' religion instinctively feels that it is straightforward and self-evident in its main outlines. Jesus never gives distorted descriptions to bring out a religious truth.

Nature worship is the first worship; a teaching which appeals to nature and to human nature acquires a certain force from that very fact. We turn to Jeremiah to read, "They have sown wheat and have reaped thorns (12:13), but where is there such a statement in the teaching of Jesus? His tares come from tare seed, sown by the enemy (Matt. 13:25). It is hardly natural to graft a wild olive into a cultivated tree. The figure just suits Paul (Rom. 11:17). But Jesus apparently has no such figure.

Of course, we read in Luke 19: 40 that the "stones" would "cry" out; but the point of that statement is to assert the impossible. On the other hand, Isaiah (55: 12) has the trees clapping their hands and the mountains breaking forth into singing. The poetical amplifications are beautiful, but Jesus gains a quality of power by his holding to the natural.

The sun is not very bright in comparison with the brightness which we meet in Isaiah 30: 26, which is "sevenfold" brighter. But Jesus, with all his love of radicalness of statement as suggested earlier, does not go beyond the bounds of nature when he says that the righteous will shine forth as the sun (Matt. 13: 43). Likewise, the reeds shaken in the wind (Lk. 7: 24) have a natural appearance. And the trees which Jesus mentions (Lk. 13: 19; 23: 31) are strikingly natural as compared, for instance, with the tree of Nebuchadnezzar's vision.

Jesus' disciples will tread upon serpents. The reference, of course, is figurative, but it is strikingly effective when set against the more extreme and unnatural statement of Psalms 91: 13, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion."

It is not only true that Jesus generally stays within the limits of the natural, but he also shows a decided preference for the very common daily acts of domestic life. The washing of dishes he transformed into one of his most effective sayings with regard to the cleansing of the heart (Lk. 11: 39). The shortage of hands at harvest-time was as common as it is in Kansas or Nebraska (Lk. 10: 2). The shepherds did separate sheep from goats (Matt. 25: 32). Pearl merchants pursued their trade (Matt. 13: 45). Agents embezzled and falsified their accounts (Lk. 16: 1 ff.). Doors were shut upon outsiders who did, with Oriental demonstrativeness, weep and gnash their teeth (Lk. 13: 24-29).

There are, to be sure, many instances of unnatural events in the words of the Gospels. But in most cases the purpose of Jesus is to portray something in the spiritual world as unnatural or impossible. It is not natural to put a lighted lamp in a cellar, or under a peck measure (Lk. 11: 33); but it is no more unnatural than it is for men who have received the light of great new truth to fail to communicate it to others.

A blind man leading another blind man into a ditch is no more unnatural than Pharisaic leaders with their eyes shut to new truth, leading those who are blind enough to follow them, into the ditch of spiritual ruin (Lk. 6: 39). Likewise, cutting a

piece out of a new garment to patch an old one is absurd. Just so is it absurd to think of taking a piece out of Jesus' religion and new spirit of life, as a patch for mending and renewing Pharisaic Judaism.

Socrates brought philosophy down from heaven to earth. Jesus' sayings did the same for religion. God is no longer, for Jesus, a "king," as in the Old Testament day, but a Father. The story of a father's love in the parable of the prodigal son demonstrates the naturalness of Jesus' religion. It does, indeed, require a spirit of great purity and power to make common things vehicles of ethical illustrations, without appearing simple and old-fashioned, and Jesus' use of the commonplace is a new and distinctive element of power.

INWARDNESS

"Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness" (Matt. 5: 6).

"The kingdom of God is like leaven which a woman took and buried in three measures of flour" (Lk. 13: 21).

"The kingdom of heaven is like a man sowing seed in the ground . . . the ground bears the crop of itself" (Mk. 4: 26, 28).

A final phase of Jesus' power may be called the inwardness of his way of expressing religious truth.

To fully describe this element would lead far down into the essence of his religion, as presented in other chapters of this book. Suffice it to make brief reference here to a very few examples.

Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* tells the story of the struggles of a human soul, pictured as on a journey. A similar story is told in the *Holy War* under the figure of a siege. A journey and a siege are external. Jesus is more inward. Conceptions of leaven, of soil with the seed in it, and of a tenant in the house,

surely point toward the inner spiritual life. The use of such language to portray spiritual inwardness is an element of power. Hunger and thirst are inward. A hidden treasure, a tomb, the process of digestion are among the more graphic instances of this manner of expression.

Isaiah has his agricultural parable (28: 23–28). He levels the ground and goes through the whole process of farming, on its external side. Even Paul has his farm (I Cor. 3: 6–9), his planting and watering (5: 6). Isaiah and Paul stay above ground in the open air. Jesus looks below the surface. The parable of the sower is a parable of the differing fate of the seed within the different soils. The grain of mustard seed is seen from the viewpoint of the secret start it gets when it is sown. Similarly, in Mark 4: 26–29 the farmer's activity is carefully excluded.

Again, Jesus' references to children have a peculiarly inward trend. Contemporary illustrations, like those of Paul, review the child externally, but the illustrations of Jesus, even the one of children in the marketplace, refer to their inward tempers and dispositions. He has nothing to say of the child as wrought upon, guided, or educated. He does not, like the Old Testament prophets, speak of the child as being nursed or taught to walk. Every reference of Jesus points to the child's interior nature.

There are many illustrations which are not in themselves inward, but to which Jesus gives an *inward trend*. The most interesting and best-known instance involves the use of the word "neighbor" in the parable of the good Samaritan (Lk. 10: 36). The lawyer asks how much area the word covers. Jesus tells him, instead, how deep its meaning is, answering in terms of quality and inner spirit.

In all these respects the sayings of Jesus attained a power which carried them into the hearts of his listeners. He used words and illustrations from Old Testament Scripture and other existing sources. The subjects about which he taught were also familiar: the character of God, the way of salvation, the nature of true righteousness; but Jesus stated these ele-

mental needs of the soul with new clearness and power. He gave no mere code of ethics for the instruction and information of his disciples; he took the whole range of illustrations at hand; he made his rules radical and striking; he excluded all non-contributing details; he created interest by deferring his applications and explanations.

He achieved power by effective reversal of previous figurative usage; he was fond of antitheses and contrast; his positive spirit changed negative commandments and negative illustrations of negative ethics into positive expression of a positive religion of service. His skill in combining several illustrations into one, his constant avoiding of the imaginary, his loyalty to nature and the natural, and finally his portrayal of the inward qualities and capacities of the soul, are elements in the unique power and forcefulness of his expression of his religion.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

ROBINSON, B. W., "Some Elements of Forcefulness in the Comparisons of Jesus," Journal of Biblical Literature, 1904, pp. 106-179.

ROBINSON, W. H., The Parables of Jesus, pp. 129-142.

WOOD, H. G., The Parables of Jesus, Abingdon Bible Commentary, pp. 914-920.

CONCLUSION

THE healthy human soul searches persistently after the highest and fullest life. Every noble character seeks to rise above physical and material things into a life of the spirit. Men and women strive to find eternal and lasting values. The eternal spirit, which is the heart of the world and of life, men call God.

Jesus entered into close fellowship with God. He formed the habit of calling him Father. He communed with him, day after day. He became a revelation of God to men. In Jesus, men have come to recognize that God is love, that the highest and most abiding power in the universe is not hate, but kindness, not war, but peace. The religion of Jesus can and will save the world and prepare men for the better age to come.

Jesus has shown men and women how to find God. Jesus is himself the way. He "went about doing good." Devoted men and women of the twentieth century will carry on the great work. Anyone who makes it the aim of his life to preserve his own self will rapidly lose his soul, but the man who pours out his soul in the service of others and loses himself in the cause of human brotherhood will find himself and attain to fullness of life.

A REFERENCE LIBRARY

BOSWORTH, E. I., The Life and Teaching of Jesus. New York, Macmillan, 1924. BOUSSET, W., Jesus. New York, Putnam, 1906.

Bundy, W. E., The Religion of Jesus. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1928.

Burch, E. W., The Ethical Teaching of the Gospels. Abingdon Press, 1925.

BURKITT, F. C., The Gospel History and Its Transmission. New York, Scribner, 1907.

Burton, E. D., The Teaching of Jesus, A Source Book. University of Chicago Press, 1923.

Burton and Goodspeed, Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels. Scribner, 1917.

CADBURY, H. J., The Making of Luke-Acts. New York, Macmillan, 1927.

CASE, S. J., Jesus. University of Chicago Press, 1927.

DEISSMANN, A., The Religion of Jesus, 2nd ed. New York, Doran, 1926.

DICKEY, S., The Constructive Revolution of Jesus. Doran, 1924.

Easton, B. S., The Gospel According to St. Luke, Commentary on the Greek Text. New York, Scribner, 1926.

EISELEN, F. C., Abingdon Bible Commentary, in one volume. F. C. Eiselen editor. Abingdon Press, 1929.

FOAKES-JACKSON and LAKE, The Beginnings of Christianity, Vol. I. New York, Macmillan, 1920.

FOWLER, H. T., The History and Literature of the New Testament. Macmillan,

GLOVER, T. R., The Jesus of History. Association Press, 1917.

GOODSPEED, E. J., The New Testament, An American Translation. University of Chicago Press, 1923.

HARNACK, A., What Is Christianity? Many editions.

, The Sayings of Jesus. Putnam, 1908.

HEADLAM, A. C., Life and Teaching of Jesus. Oxford, 1923.

HERFORD, R. T., The Pharisees, 2nd ed. Macmillan, 1924.

KENT, C. F., The Life and Teachings of Jesus (the Historical Bible). New York, Scribner, 1913.

, Biblical Geography and History (the Historical Bible). New York, Scribner, 1911.

KING, H. C., The Ethics of Jesus. New York, Macmillan, 1910.

McCown, C. C., The Genesis of the Social Gospel. New York, Knopf, 1929.

MATHEWS, S., History of New Testament Times in Palestine. New York, Macmillan, rev. ed. 1914. MATHEWS, S., The Messianic Hope in the New Testament. University of Chicago Press, 1905.

MERRIFIELD, F., Rediscovering Jesus. Holt, 1929.

Montefiore, C. G., Some Elements of the Religious Teaching of Jesus. New York, Macmillan, 1910.

-----, The Synoptic Gospels, A Critical Commentary on the English Text, 2nd ed. New York, Macmillan, 1927.

Moore, G. F., Judaism. Harvard University Press, 1927.

PEABODY, F. G., Jesus Christ and the Social Question. Macmillan, 1900.

RIDDLE, D. W., Jesus and the Pharisees. University of Chicago Press, 1928.

ROBINSON, B. W., The Life of Paul, revised edition. University of Chicago Press, 1928.

ROBINSON, B. W., The Gospel of John. New York, Macmillan, 1925.

ROBINSON, W. H., The Parables of Jesus. University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Schürer, E., Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, 5 vols. New York, Scribner, 1891.

Scott, E. F., The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. Macmillan, 1924.

———, The Gospel and Its Tributaries. Scribner, 1930.

----, The Kingdom and the Messiah. Clark, 1911.

SIMKOVITCH, V. G., Toward the Understanding of Jesus. New York, Macmillan, 1923.

SMITH, G. B., Religious Thought in the Last Quarter Century. University of Chicago Press, 1927.

STREETER, B. H., *The Four Gospels*, A Study of Origins Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship and Dates. New York, Macmillan, 1925.

Walker, T., The Teaching of Jesus and The Jewish Teaching of His Age. New York, Doran, 1923.

WENDT, H. H., The Teaching of Jesus, 2 vols. New York, Scribner, 1892.

ZENOS, A. C., The Plastic Age of the Gospel. New York, Macmillan, 1927.

Index of Scripture References

Genesis	TI Vinne	Ecclesiastes
Genesis	II Kings	PAGE
7:7	2:1186	Q:12252
• •	2.22	Chap. 12249
Exodus	I Chronicles	
3:6	17:11199, 202	* • •
16:2977	28:5199	Isaiah
19:6199	3	2:2-4200
20:15-17227	II Chronicles	2:4223
Leviticus	26:20229	5:22 ff250
18:5133	_	6:10257
18:16149	Psalms	8:14256
19:18133, 152, 223, 227	2:7195	9:4256 9:6200
Numbers	6:830	13:21, 22257
	8:4187, 189	Chap. 14248
23:19187, 189	19:5248	14:12246
Deuteronomy	22:1175	28:23-28261
6:5133	23:1223	30:26245, 259
6:13113, 115	24:4	33:22199
6:16114	31:5175 37:11168	34:14257
8:3113	38:4256	40:10257
24:1164	47:2199, 213	42:16, 19257
25:5149	51:10223	43:25206, 208
Joshua	55:22256	44:22249
3:4·····77	75:8249	45:1191 f.
7:216	82:6195	49:24, 25257
7.22	83:3213	51:22249
Judges	84:3199	53:12257
9:45251 f.	89:20, 27195, 197	55:1249
I Samuel	91:11, 12114	55:2249
8:7199	91:13249, 259	55:12258
24:6	105:15191 107:34251 f.	56:7254, 256
	118:22256	56:10257
II Samuel	118:26	60:18, 2182
7:8, 14	119:10246	61:1122
7:12199, 202		61:1, 2
I Kings	Proverbs	63:8194
12:4256	29:3249	64:8195
13:4229	30:8, 9185	66:24209
	267	

268 INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

Jeremiah	Malachi	I Maccabees (Cont.)
PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
2:20256	1:11130	13:8, 16, 2628
7:11254	2:10195	13:30, 38 f., 43, 48, 5229
7:21256	3:1123	14:4-1530
12:7130	I Maccabees	14:12117
12:13258	1:20-246	14:26, 38-4131
16:16–18251 f.	2:15-217	14:42 f32
22:5	2:257	15:3132
23:5200	2:279	16:5, 6-832
25:15-17249	2:299	4:26 f4
33:15200	2:70	5:11 f6
Lamentations	3:3-5	Wisdom
1:14256	3:4	
-1.4	3:8-910	10:10200
Ezekiel	3:10-1211	Enoch
2:1187	3:38-40	
17:22 ff	4:28-2912	46:2, 3187
24:11-31250	4:3412	51:1
34:16143	4:3812	62:9188 62:27188
37:24200	4:42-4312	84:2
47:11251 f.	4:4712	84:2201
Daniel	4:49-51	Testament of the Twelve
	4:56	Patriarchs
2:34, 35256	4:59	Jud. 24:3195
Chap. 4248	5:3	
4:12214	5:6-7-8	Assumption of Moses
7:13187, 189, 200	5:1414	10:1201
11:286	5:1714	
11:316	5:2014	Jubilees
12:282, 84	5:3114	32:19201
12:3194	5:3414	IV Esdras
13:3245	5:4314	
Hosea	5:4514	7:28195
1:10105	5:50, 53 f., 59 f	13:37195
Chap. 14249	6:13 f	Psalms of Solomon
Спар. 14249	6:3016	3:16201
Amos	7:I16	5:21200
4:2252	7:7, 15 f., 27 f., 31 f 17	17:23, 36–38201
36: 1	7:40, 43-5018	
Micah	8:23-2918	Matthew
6:6-8152, 229	9:6–13, 18, 22	2:1658
7:6	9:28-31, 47-5021	2:22108
Habakkuk	9:57, 61, 67-69, 72-7322	2:22 f106
I:15252	10:20, 21, 50, 60, 62-63.23	3:35163
	10:69, 83-87, 88-8924	4:3196
Haggai	11:16, 18 f24	4:256I
1:6129	11:20-24, 26-29, 41 ff25	5:3, 4, 6, 11, 12 120, 150
Zechariah	11:48-52, 67-7426	5:5168
3:2-5249	12:1 f., 25-3027	5:6120,150,243,249,260
3 3249	12:44-4828	5:8167

Matthew (Cont.)	Matthew (Cont.)	Matthew (Cont.)
5:8, 9207	8:11, 12130	PAGE
		13:24, 31, 33, 45, 47218
5:9195, 197	8:12197	13:25258
5:11, 12120, 150	8:19-22124	13:31204, 218
5:13131, 243, 251	8:20187	13:33130, 204, 218
5:15127, 144, 149, 254	8:29193	13:41216, 219
5:18	8:35169	13:43245, 257, 259
5:20212	9:3659	13:4494, 95, 206, 247
5:25, 26	9:37 f124	13:45259
5:2986	10:5-8123	13:45, 46157, 206
5:32 132, 145, 149 f., 164, 165	10:6249	13:45, 47
	10:10124	13:47246
5:34, 37166, 167	10:12, 13124	13:55 f 106
5:38228	10:16124, 254	14:19174
5:39, 40, 42, 44 120, 151 5:41 230, 232	10:24, 25121	15:10-20251
	10:26-28128	15:14121, 255
5:42120, 162 5:43227	10:29	15:20251
5:43-48	10:29-31128	15:26246
5:44120, 151, 162	10:30245, 246	16:1-4145, 149
		16:6251
5:44, 45, 48	10:34, 35130	16:6, 7250
6:5-8		16:1482, 83
	10:39.132, 145, 148 f., 193	16:16196
6:6	10:40124	16:24144, 149
	10:42230	16:25132, 145, 148 f.
6:9-13125, 183 6:11156	11:7-11123	17:20132, 145, 150
6:19-21129	11:1270	18:2243
6:22, 23127	11:12, 13	18:3, 4253
6:23254	11:16-19123	18:4145, 149
6:24	11:18	18:7
6:25-28	11:21-24124	18:10100
6:25-33129	11:25246, 253	18:12 f131
6:32157	11:25, 26125	18:14225
6:32, 33	11:27125	18:15, 21, 22
6:33115, 166, 204	11:28, 30207, 208	18:21-35154, 208, 216
7:1	11:30255	18:22
7:1, 2	12:22, 27, 28126	18:23247
7:3255	12:30126	19:9132, 145, 149 f., 165
7:3-5121	12:34, 35	19:12246, 255
7:6254	12:38118	19:14253
7:11125	12:38 f 145, 149	19:29163
7:12120, 254	12:38 f., 41 f127	19:30145, 150
7:13, 14	12:43 f257	20:12247
7:15255	12:43 ff 126, 235	20:13 ff
7:16, 18, 20121	12:45	20:16145, 150
7:18	12:49 f	21:2
7:20121	Chap. 13	21:11193
7:21, 24-27122	13:12133, 145, 149	21:21145, 150
7:23	13:16 f	21:28-31230
8:5-10122	13:24204	21:31210
	J	

270 INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

Matthew (Cont.)	Mark (Cont.)	Mark (Cont.)
PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
21:31, 32231	4:13-2095	10:25158
22:1-10216	4:1595	10:29 f250
23:4127	4:21144, 149	10:3087
23:12131, 145, 149	4:22144, 149	10:31145, 150
23:13128	4:25133, 145, 149	10:42-44216
23:2381, 127, 151	4:26 f97	10:43, 44219
23:2481, 253	4:26, 28. 204, 208, 214, 260	10:44237
23:25, 2681, 127	4:26-29261	10:45233
23:27127	5:206r	11:9 f193
23:29-32, 34-36128	5:39250	11:17233, 254, 255
23:3386, 246	6:14-2963	11:22 f 132, 145, 150
23:37 f74	6:18150	11:22-25179
23:37-39130	6:2262	12:1882
24:270	6:3459	12:18, 2384
24:26-28, 37-41132	6:41174	12:26103
24:37247	6:41, 54	12:28-31152
24:42145, 150	6:46174, 175	12:36103
24:43-51129	6:54118	13:1465, 73
25:11, 12	7:9	13:32196
25:13129, 145, 150	7:19-22152	13:37145, 150
25:14-30231	7:21100	14:22174
25:18230	7:27246	14:36237
25:25	7:3161	14:38100
25:26231	7:34179	14:61 f
25:26-30231	8:6174	15:34175
25:29133, 145, 149	8:11, 12145, 149	15:39195
25:31 ff	8:2764	Luke
	8:29 f	
25:32258, 259 26:26174	8:34.144, 149, 156, 231, 254	1:77-79206, 208
26:52	8:35132, 145, 148 f.,	2:260
26:53	156, 193, 231	2:42-49
27:54	8:36156 9:1212	3:1-9:50147
27.5495	•	3:156, 62, 63
Mark	9:12	3:1110
1:9-11		3:15191
1:11196, 197	9:41230 9:42247	3:21174
1:14 f 190	9:43, 44233	3:38196
1:15192, 204, 209	9:43, 45, 47209	4:1-13114
1:17251		4:3196
1 :35	9:43-47246 9:47 f86	4:17-21212
2:17231	9:4882, 86	4:18207 4:18 f206
2:18157	10:2-9	•
3:2	10:11 f 145, 149 f.	4:35
3:17197	10:15	5:20205
3:31	10:15, 16253	5:31231
		3.31
3:34 t		f:22
3:34 f	10:17189, 226	5:32209
Chap. 497	10:17189, 226	5:36258
	10:17189, 226	

Luke (Cont.)	Luke (Cont.)	Luke (Cont.)
PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
6:2053	9:51-19:28133, 147	11:46127
6:20168, 204, 212 6:20-23120, 150	9:57189 9:57-60124	11:47-51128
6:27229	9:58187	12:2144, 140
6:27 f	9:62244	12:2-5128
6:27-31120, 151	10:2124, 259	12:6, 7128, 225
6:28233	10:3124	12:1398
6:2991, 232	10:4217	12:13-21134
6:30162	10:7124	12:2099
6:31219, 237	10:12, 13-15124	12:22-27159
6:32, 35, 36235	10:16124	12:22-31129
6:32-36121, 151	10:17, 21125, 175	12:23244
6:34229	10:18101, 245 f., 248	12:27253
6:35195	10:19248, 257	12:30, 31
6:35 f152	10:21175, 176, 246, 253	12:31166, 204
6:36237	10:22125	12:33 f129
6:37162	10:23 f125	12:37145, 150
6:37 f121	10:25226	12:39-46129
6:39259	10:25 ff	12:40188, 190
6:39 f121	10:25-37	12:51, 53
6:41	10:30221	12:58, 59
6:43166, 254	10:35	13:693
6:43-45121	10:46124	13:10-17136
6:44250, 254	11:1-4183	13:11101
6:45100	11:2184, 212	13:19214, 248, 257, 259
6:46-49122	11:2-4125, 184	13:20 f 130, 204, 214, 251
7:1-9122	11:3156	13:2196, 260
7:2221	11:593	13:24130
7:19-23122	11:5-8134, 178, 179	13:24-29246, 259
7:24259	11:9182	13:25-29130
7:24-28123	11:9-13125, 179	13:30145, 150
7:25243	11:13182, 184	13:31-33136
7:28239	11:14, 19, 20126	13:3262
7:31-35123	11:16, 29-32127	13:34243
7:32253, 254	11:19, 20126	13:34 f
7:33, 34	11:20212	14:7-24137
7:38210 7:42210	11:21257 11:23126	14:8, 11
Chap. 897	11:24 f257	14:11131, 145, 149
8:16144, 149, 244	11:24 ff 101, 126, 235, 237	14:15 ff
8:17144, 149, 166	11:29145, 149	14:15-24216
8:18133, 145, 149	11:33	14:27131, 144, 149
8:21246	127, 144, 149, 258, 259	14:28-33
8:2638	11:34 f127	14:34, 35
9:2123	11:35254	15:1238
9:18174, 176, 193	11:39258, 259	15:395
9:23.144,149,229,231,247	11:39 f 81, 127	15:3237, 248
9:24132, 145, 148 f., 231	11:4281, 127, 151	15:4-7131, 238
9:28, 29, 32	11:44127	15:793

272 INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

2/2 21(2)212 01	BORILLORD KE	EKENCES
Luke (Cont.)	Luke (Cont.)	Acts (Cont.)
PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
15:8148	19:1-10143	5:3667, 118
15:8-1096, 138	19:11219	5:3771
15:11-3293, 139	19:11-27231	10:38230, 233
15:19197	19:1259	12:265
15:20237, 238	19:12, 13, 15-26144	12:19-2365
15:2293	19:17166	21:3867
15:32149	19:26133, 145, 149	22:2856
16:1 ff 259	19:38118	23:12-1668
16:1-12140	19:40258	23:24 to 25:1467
16:1-1394	19:42-4474	24:2, 368
16:8196	20:18257	26:2, 3, 2866
16:10166	20:37103	
16:13131	21:29 f214	Romans
16:16	22:29212	2:20253
16:17	22:30163	11:17258
16:18. 132, 145, 149 f., 164	22:31	12:21228
16:1994	22:31 f	14:17205
16:19-31102, 141	22:36, 38250 f.	
16:2285, 86	22:39-41175	I Corinthians
16:22 f82	23:4-1263	3:r253
	23:31259	3:6-926r
17:1132	23:34233	4:14253
17:4	23:4386	5:6261
17:6 91, 132, 145,	23:46100, 111, 175	7:10 f
150, 179, 246	23:47195, 197	7:29255
17:7-1094, 141	24:30174	13:2179, 182
17:20205, 215	T 1	13:11253
17:20 f 142, 204	$_{ m John}$	14:20253
17:21212	1:2183	14.20233
17:23, 24, 26, 27, 34,	2:17233	II Corinthians
35, 37132	2:1970	
17:26188, 190, 247	2:2054, 69	5:14237
17:27, 34, 35, 37132	6:162	Galatians
17:33132, 145, 148 f	6:15118	
17:34, 35, 37132	6:2362	1:20167
18:1-5142, 178, 180	6:26118	4:6196
18:1-893	7:5108	4:17253
18:9-14142, 154, 178	8:1-11	5:16237
18:10254	12:25145, 148 f.	5:22, 23237
18:11167, 256	21:162	T
18:14131, 145, 149	21:2519	James
18:17210	Acts	1:13186
18:25246		Revelation
18:29 f207 f.	1:6117, 220	
18:3087	1:1277	20:584

Index of Subjects

Abba, 176 Actium, battle of, 51 Adasa, battle of, 17 Adoption, 196 Adultery, 165 f. Age, Golden, 226 Agrippa, 56 Agrippa I (Herod), 64 Agrippa II, 65 f., 71 Alasa, battle of, 19 Alcimus, 17; death, 22 Alexander, Jannæus, 37 Alexander, Zabinas, 20 Alexander the Great, 1 ff., 20 Alexandra, 37, 40 f., 50 f. Alexandria, 3 Allegory, 92 f. Ammon, 13 Angels, 87, 100 Anointed, 191 ff. Antigonus, 45, 49 f. Antioch, 1, 2; Egyptian king enters, 24; Jews enter, 26 Antiochus I, the Great, 4 Antiochus IV Epiphanes, 4 ff., 11 ff.; death, 15 Antiochus V, 16, 20 Antiochus VI, 20, 25 Antiochus VII, 20 Antiochus VIII, 20 Antiochus IX, 20 Antipater, 41, 45 f. Antitheses, 253 Antony, 47, 49 ff. Apocalyptic, 104 f., 206, 211 f., 217 f. Apollonius, 24 Arabia, 39, 42, 63 Archelaus, 58 ff. Aretas, 39, 41 f. Armenia, 20 Aristobulus, 36, 41, 45, 50

Asceticism, 156 ff.

Attestation, 148 Augustus, 49, 51 f., 56, 59 Authorship, Old Testament, 103 Azotus burned, 24

Bacchides, 17 ff., 21 f. Bacon, B. W., 89, 193 Balas, Alexander, 20, 22 ff. Baptism, 111 ff. Beatitudes, 120, 150 Best attested saying, 132, 145, 148, 231, 263 Bethbasi, battle of, 22 Bethhoron, 17, 71 Bethzacharias, battle of, 16 Beth-Zur, 13, 16; battle of, 12 Blessings, present, 208 f. Blind guides, 257, 259 Brotherhood, 216 ff., 224, 239 Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress, 94 ff., 260 Burton, E. D., 188, 201, 203 f.; and Goodspeed, 147 f.

Cæsar, 45 f. Cæsarea, 53, 70 Cæsarea Philippi, 63 Caligula, 63 ff. Camel, 158, 246, 253 Capharsalama, battle of, 17 Cassius, 46 Cendebæus, 32 Census, 60 Chalmers, Thomas, 235 Character, personal, 166 ff., 170; cost of, 137 f. Cheek, 91, 120, 151, 210, 228, 232, 250 Child, 91, 196, 252, 261 Christ, 191 ff. Chronological table, 20 Cicero, 44 Circumcision, 6 Civil War, 38

Claudius, 65
Cleopatra, 23, 37 f.; and Antony, 50 ff.
Coat, 232 f.
Coin, lost, 138
Coins, 32, 35, 64 f.
Colorado, 234
Combination, 255
Commandments, 76 ff., 154, 224, 226 f., 236
Consciousness of Jesus, 113 ff., 187 ff.
Courage, 169, 236
Crassus, 45 f.
Cross, 149, 193 f., 231
Crucifixion, of eight hundred, 39; of Jesus, 60, 193 f.; of two thousand, 59

Damascus, 42 Darius, 2 Dates of Syrian rulers, 20 Davis, O. S., 235 Debtors, parable of, 247, 253 Decapolis, 61, 100 Dedication, feast of, 13 Demetrius I, 16 ff., 20 Demetrius II, 20, 23 ff. Demons, 100 ff. Deissmann, 173, 177 Democracy, 219 Details excluded, 248 Discipleship, 123 f. Dispersion, 56 Distinctive features, 238 ff. Divorce, 149, 163 ff. Doubly attested sayings, 144 f., 148 ff. Dynamic quality, 223, 226 f., 237 ff.

Egypt, Jews subject to, 3 f.
Eleazar, 72 f.
Emmaus, battle of, 11 f.
Enemies, love of, 120 f., 151, 163, 237.
See also Prayer for enemies
Enoch, Book of, 187, 189 ff.
Eschatology. See Apocalyptic
Eternal, 87
Ethical teaching, 147 ff.
Evolution, 98, 172, 221
Expulsive power, 235, 237
Eye, for eye, 228; beam in, 256

Family life, illustrations from, 244, 259 Father, 184. See also God Fatherhood of God, 223
Fear, 159 f.
Felix, 67 f.
Festus, 66, 68 f.
Figtree, 135
Fishing, 252
Flood, 103, 132
Forgiveness, 185 f., 208
Fornication, 165 f.
Fruits of the spirit, 237

Gabinius, 45 Gadara, 38 Galilee, 14, 26, 46, 48, 72; description of, 60 f.; freed from robbers, 49; Sea of, 61 f. Gaza, 2, 26, 38 Gazara, 29 Gerizim, 35 Gilead, 14 Glover, 253 God, character of, 237 f., 263; fatherhood, 223; imitation of, 151, 155, 237; nearness, 223 Golden Age, 226 Golden Rule, 239, 241; negative, 228 Goodspeed, E. J., ix, 147 f. Gorgias, 11, 12 Gospel Sources, 120, 123, 133, 144, 147 f. Graham, W. C., 89 Greek culture, 53 f., 61 f. Greek Old Testament, 3 Growth, stages, 236

Hades, 85, 102 Hamath, battle of, 27 Harnack, 234, 264 Hazor, battle of, 226 Heart, 99 Heart righteousness, 224 f. Heaven, 86 Hell, 86 Hermon, 108 Herod Antipas, 58, 60 ff., 136; called king, 62; character, 62 Herod the Great, 42, 46 ff.; death, 58 Herodias, 63 High priest, militant, 23 Hillel, 228 Holy of Holies, 44, 46 Humility, 167 Hyrcanus, 40 ff., 50

Idumea, 13; judaized, 35 Individual personality, 170 f.; worth of, 128 f., 225 Inferiority complex, 167 Initiative, personal, 232 Interim ethics, 217 f. International. See Nations Inwardness, 260 Isaiah, 244 ff., 261 Ivo, Bishop, 236

James, brother of Jesus, 69

James, brother of John, death of, 65 Jericho, 34 Jerusalem, captured by Pompey, 43; citadel of, 16, 24 f., 29; destroyed by Titus, 72 ff.; taken by Herod, 49 f.; walls overthrown, 34 Jesus, 9, 10, 33, 43, 53, 58 f., 70; baptism, III ff.; before Herod, 63; death, 193 f.; growth of personality, 190 ff.; home life, 106 ff.; manner of speaking, 118 f., 150 f., 154; mentioned by Josephus, 69; visit to the temple, Jews, subject to Egypt, 3, to Syria, 4; brought out of Galilee, 14; independent, 29 Joan of Arc, 233 Job, 101, 225 John Hyrcanus, 34 ff. John of Gischala, 72 ff. John the Baptist, 63, 122 f., 157, 239 Jonah, 103 Jonathan, 21 ff.; captured, 27; high priest, 22 f.

King, title of, 37
Kingdom of God, 31, 33, 53, 185, 199 ff., 225, 240 f.; a brotherhood, 216; a hope, 214; a republic, 220; apocalyptic, 103 f.; blessings of, 206 ff.; coming of, 142; conditions of enter-

Josephus, 72; antiquities, 36 ff., 44,

Judas Maccabæus, 10 ff.; death, 19

Joppa, 24

Joseph and Azarias, 15

Joseph and Herod, 49, 51 Joseph and Jesus, 62

67, 69 f.; wars, 48, 70

Judaism, vigor of, 88 f.

Judas of Galilee, 67

ing, 209 ff.; consummation of, 217, 221 f.; earthly, 156 f., 216 f.; entering the, 130 f.; gift of God, 218; growth, 214 ff.; of heaven, 218; modern ideas, 220; nearness, 215; Old Testament, 199 ff.; social, 211 ff.; spiritual, 204 ff.

Lagus, Ptolemy, 3 Laomedon, 2 f. Law, literal observance, 76 ff. Law of mercy, 153 Lawyer, 224, 226, 261 Leaven. See Yeast Legalism, 76 ff., 154 Life after death, Jewish conception, 85 Light, 127, 259 Logia, 147 f. Lost sheep, 238 f. Love of Christ, 237 Loyalty, 169 Luther, 170 Lying, 167 Lysias, 11, 16

Maccabees, First Book of, 9, 33 Maccabees, last of the, 57 f. Madaba, 21 Man, brotherhood, 224 Manager, shrewd, 94, 139 f. Mariamme, 49 ff.; death, 52 Marriage, 163 ff. Masada, 47 ff. Mattathias, uprising of, 7; death, 9; five sons, 28 Maud, 233 Meek, 168 Messiah, meaning of, 83; claimants, 66 f. Messiahship of Jesus, 116 ff., 191 ff. Messianic hope, 82 ff. Messianic kingdom. See Kingdom Mile, second, 232 Miracles of Jesus, 229 Mishna, 78 ff., 90, 153 Modin, 7, 8, 19, 29; battle of, 32 Moore, G. F., 88 Moses and Elijah, 86 f. Mountain, 182 Mysia, 2

Nations, service to, 221, 241 f.

Naturalness, 96, 257
Nature, 98 f.; references to, 244; truthfulness to, 258
Nazareth, 61, 108 f.
Needle's eye, 158, 246
Negative quality, 227; relation to positive, 235
Neighbor, 226 f., 261; love of, 224
Nero, 68
New elements, 238 f.
Nicanor, 11, 17 f.
Non-resistance, 162 ff., 232

Octavius. See Augustus Otherworldly, 216 f.

Pacifism, 162, 232 Parable, purpose, or f.; right interpretation, 94 f. Paradise, 85 f. Pardon, begging, 234 Parthians, 47, 49, 62 f. Paul, 56, 68, 244, 261; before Agrippa, 66 People, common, 33, 42 f., 53, 58 Perea, 61 Peter, 65; confession, 193 Petra, 41 Pharisaical system, 89 f. Pharisee and Publican, 142 Pharisees, 34 ff., 40, 50, 55, 59; hostile to Maccabees, 36, 39 Phasælus, 46 Pharsalia, battle of, 46 Philip, of Antioch, 16; of Macedonia, 1, 5; of Trachonitis, 58, 63 f. Philistines, 15 Philo, 195 Physician, 231 Pilate, 60 Plato, 158, 161, 225 Pompey, 20, 42 ff. Positive, negative changed to, 254 Positiveness, 193 f., 223 ff., 228, 230 ff.; crucifixion, 193 f. Pounds, parable of, 143 f., 231 Prayer, 125, 134, 142, 171 ff., 225, 240; and science, 172; as petition, 173; as tuning of the soul, 174; in a station, 173; for enemies, 151, 227, 233; Jesus' personal, 174 ff.; Jesus' teaching, 177 ff.; Jewish, 181, 184, 186; Lord's, 183 ff; Pharisee's, 180, 256 Premillenialism, 104 Prodigal son, 93, 138 f., 197, 238, 249 Psalms of Solomon, 84 f., 201 Psychology, 236 Ptolemais, 22, 28, 37, 49; wedding at, 23 Pure in heart, 167

Quirinius, 60

Radical expressions, 245 Receptive spirit, 210 Religion of Jesus, 263; nature of, 151 ff. Religious liberty gained, 16 Repentance, 210 Republic of God, 220, 226 Republic of Plato, 225 Resisting evil, 162 ff.; see non-resistance Resurrection, 83 f.; second, 84 Revenge, 163 Reversal of figurative usage, 251 Riches, 158 Rich man, 226, 140 f. Righteousness, heart, 127 f., 153, 167, Roman citizenship, 46, 56 Roman officer, 122 Rome, treaty with, 18, 26 f., 30 f., 34

Sabbath, 153; fighting on, 9, 43; Jewish observance, 77 ff. Sabbath Day's journey, 77 Sacrifice, temple, 229 Sadducees, 36, 40 ff., 50 Salt, 252 Samaria, 25, 35, 53 Samaritan, Good, 29, 133, 226, 240, 261; allegorized, 92 Samaritan governor, 10 f. Sardis, r Satan, 101 Sayings, 120 ff.; doubly attested, 144 f., 148 ff. (see also Best attested); Jesus' manner of speaking, 118 f., 150 f.; not literal, 152; sources, 120, 123, 133, 147 ff. Science and Jesus, 98 ff. Second coming. See Kingdom Seleucus V, 20 Self-denial, 156 ff.

Sepphoris, 62 Sermon on the mount, 120, 150 f. Service, extra, 141. See also Social service Seron, 11 Seven other spirits, 126, 235, 257 Shammai, 228 Sheep, lost, 131 Sheol, 85 Shepherd, 238 Sicarii, 67 ff. Sign, 126 Simon, 28 ff.; death, 32 f. Simon ben Giora, 73 f. Sin, 112, 239 f.; removal of, 219 Sincerity, 166 f. Sinope, 56 Social customs, 244, 259 Social hopes, 217 Social service, 158 f.; and religion, 155, 226 f. Socrates, 260 Son of God, 195 f. Son of Man, 187 ff. Sons of Babos, 52 Soul, 99 Sources of Sayings, 147 f. See also Gospel sources Sower, parable of, 95 Spirit, 100 Steward, unjust, 94, 139 f. Strabo, 37 Supper, 136 f.; last, 249 Swearing, 167 Syrian rulers, 20

Talents, parable of, 231 Talmud, 78 Tantalus, 34

Tares, 97 Temple, 253; cleansing of, 232, 256; completed, 69 f.; desecrated, 6; loyalty to, 44; purified, 12; rebuilt, 54; sacrifice ended, 74; set on fire, 59; tax, 40 Temptation, 186 Temptations of Jesus, 113 ff., 192 Theudas, 66 f. Tiberias, 62 Tiberius, 62 Trachonitis, 56, 63 Transfiguration, 86 f., 175 f. Treasure, spiritual, 134 Triumphal entry, 193 Triumvirate, 45 Trust, 159 ff. Truth and lie, 167 Trypho, 20, 25 ff. Tyre, 2

War, 162, 221, 241 f.
Washington, 194
Watchfulness, 129 f.
Water, cup of, 230; urn of, 236
Wendt, 116
Widow, 142
Will of God, 207, 209 f.
Wolf and sheep, 256
Woman, crippled, 135
Woman and lost coin, 138
Workers hired, 94, 247
Worry, 159 f.

Yeast, 130, 204, 250, 252 Yoke and burden, 208, 256

Zacchaeus, 143 Zealots, 71 ff., 203